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VOL. 1 OF 4

UNRESTRICTED

The Welsh Clergy 1558 - 1642

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CONTENTS VOLUME I

Contents	i
Abstract	
Preface	
Introduction	1
<u>Part 1 : The Beneficed Clergy</u>	
Chapter 1 : The Welsh Bishops	
The Elizabethan Settlement	22
The Age of Archbishop Whitgift	45
From the Accession of James I	
to the Civil War	64
Chapter 2 : The Welsh Cathedral Clergy	91
St. Asaph	92
Vicars Choral	96
Bangor	98
Vicars Choral	100
Llandaff	101
St. David's	103
Brecon Collegiate Church	107
Llanddewi Brefi	109
Conclusion	114
Appendix : The Life of the Cathedral	
Chapters	120
Chapter 3 : The Welsh Sinecure Clergy	126
St. Asaph	128
Bangor	137
St. David's	141
Social and Geographical Origins	
of the Sinecure Clergy	143
Chapter 4 : The Parochial Clergy	148
At the Accession of Elizabeth	149
Appendix : The 1603 Survey	153
St. Asaph	155
Bangor	171
Llandaff	187
St. David's	200

(CTD.)

Chapter 4 ctd.

Social and Geographical Origins of the Parochial Clergy	220
Appendix : The Llanllyfni Papers	236
<u>Part 2 : The Clergy and the Laity</u>	
Chapter 5 : Patronage and Sureties	242
Patronage of the Lord Keeper	243
Lay Patronage : St. David's	255
Llandaff : The Gentry	257
The Nobility	260
Bangor and St. Asaph	261
Sureties	262
Chapter 6 : Impropriations, Curacies and Chaplaincies	
The Unbeneficed Clergy	273
Chaplains to Private Patrons	288
Clerical Schoolmasters	291
Appendix : The St. Asaph 'Register'	299
Chapter 7 : Remuneration of the Clergy	306
Appendix : Clerical Wills	325
Chapter 8 : Communicating the Faith	329
Appendix : Lay Spirituality	348
Conclusion	355

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ABSTRACT

The Introduction defines 'Welsh Clergy' for the purposes of this study, i.e. those in the dioceses of St Asaph, Bangor, Llandaff and St David's, and sets out the objectives of the enquiry - to ascertain who the Welsh Clergy were in 1558-1642, and how far they conformed to the Reformation ideals of a learned and caring clergy. There follows a biographical study of each of the Welsh bishops in the period. In the following three sections, the clergy are studied in the categories - cathedral, sinecure and parochial. Next follows a consideration of the influence of the laity, including the Crown, on the clergy in the capacity of patrons and sureties. Evidence regarding the unbeneficed clergy (curates, chaplains and schoolmasters) follows. The remuneration of the clergy in Wales is discussed.. The Welsh clergy are next considered as communicators of the faith, and the study concludes with an assessment of how are standard improved among them in this period, with some considerations of their opposite numbers in England.

In Volume II, the evidence is summarised in the form of tables.

PREFACE.

This enquiry was prompted by a wish to fill a gap. A. G. Matthews' Walker Revised had proved a valuable source of information in my first research project, studying the impact of the Civil War in Wiltshire. My interest shifted to Wales, which is scarcely touched upon in Matthews' book, and my first intention was to try to close the gap by looking at the effects of that great upheaval in the four Welsh dioceses. But as the study developed, my objective moved to an attempt to fill a deeper and more important gap: an assessment of the achievement of the Church in Wales between the accession of Queen Elizabeth I and the outbreak of the Civil War.

Studies of the Church of England in this period have paid too little attention to the four Welsh dioceses. To many English scholars, Wales may seem unfamiliar territory. That Wales was, and is, different from England is without doubt, though it is hard to say in exactly what ways it is different. Even allowing for the important fact that most of its inhabitants were more-or-less monoglot Welsh speakers, it is questionable whether Wales was so very different from the English-speaking heartland than, say, Cornwall or Cumbria. In any case, the same Church served the whole of England and Wales, and for good measure the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man. To neglect any part of that varied canvas is to distort the picture.

Another reason why the Church in Wales has suffered neglect in this period is the nature of the source material. Diocesan records, in particular, are almost non-existent between 1558 and 1642. What are available, however, are records from which it is possible to ascertain who most of the Welsh clergy were at this time, at least the incumbents and higher clergy. There are gaps in the information, but an overall picture emerges. If it encourages English scholars to explore this field further, most of the records are located in London, and they are in English, with occasional Latin, but not Welsh. It should be said, however, that books and articles on this topic have

been written in Welsh, and not all are available in translation.¹

Because of the nature of the material, this study has concentrated on two questions : Who were the Welsh clergy between 1558 and 1642 ? and, What were they like ? at least so far as their origins and education were concerned.¹ It is, therefore, a study of the Welsh clergy rather than the Welsh Church. Account is taken, however, of parochial and diocesan structure and the remuneration of the clergy, since these factors provided the framework in which the Church functioned.² Since establishing who the clergy were has been one of the main objectives, presenting the material in an accessible form has been an important consideration.³ I found that the only way to do this was to present it in the form of tables of the cathedral, sinecure and parish clergy, cross-referencing them as fully as possible.⁴ This has raised many uncertainties as to identification, and the resulting tables reflect degrees of probability.⁵ I have followed previous scholars in making or suggesting identifications as well as making sometimes tentative ones of my own.⁶ It is hoped that scholars in future will be able to certify or correct individual cases.⁷

Information regarding the unbeneficed clergy is much more sparse.⁸ But I believed that it would be wrong to ignore such information as did exist.⁹ There is more information available as to churches and chapelries which were served by curates than as to the clergy who served them.¹ I felt it was right to tabulate such places, if only to indicate that Wales, like England, had many places of worship other than parish churches served by rectors and vicars.⁴ Finally, I have aimed to set such knowledge of the Welsh clergy as is available in the context of their relations with the laity and their duty of communicating the faith.²

It is necessary to set limits to any study.³ I am conscious that, in places, the limits of this study border

on fascinating territory beyond.¹ One such area is the survival of Roman Catholicism, or recusancy, in Wales - a fact which any examination of the religious history of the period must confront.² Another, leading on from the remuneration of the clergy, is the economic basis of the Church.³ Both are important and interesting questions, though evidence for the latter in this period may be scanty.⁴ But either lies outside the scope of the present study, which is of the personnel of the Anglican clergy in Wales.⁵ Some material which is peripheral to the subject, but which seemed worth including for interest's sake, has been assigned to the appendices.⁶

In working on this study, I am indebted to more people than I can recount.⁷ I owe a particular debt to Professor Gwynn Williams of University College, Bangor, and Bishop 'Bill' Westwood of Peterborough for encouraging me to embark on it in the first place.⁸ Particular thanks must go to Professor Sir Glanmor Williams for guiding me as to defining the subject, overseeing my research, and not least, for his unfailing encouragement.⁹ My thanks go to Dr.¹⁰ Rosemary O'Day, again for her encouragement, but especially for seeing me through all the regulations of the Open University.¹¹ I must thank Dr.¹² J. Gwynfor Jones and Dr.¹³ Ford for their many helpful and constructive comments when the thesis was first examined in 1996.¹⁴ I should like to acknowledge the help I have received from all the libraries and record offices I have used.¹⁵ Not least, I must thank Mrs.¹⁶ Margaret Johnson for presenting the results of this research in so attractive a form (for Volume I), and Mrs.¹⁷ Wendy Clarke likewise (for Volume II), and for their patience in handling all its complexities.¹⁸

Though many years of work have gone into this study, it has nevertheless brought its own rewards in enabling me (I hope) to know and understand Wales better.¹⁹ If it does the same for others, the effort will have been worthwhile.²⁰

Barrie Williams

Whitby

December 1998.²¹

ABBREVIATIONS OF SOURCES USED, Etc.

AC	:	Alumni Cantabrigienses
AIP	:	Arthur Ivor Pryce, The Diocese of Bangor in the sixteenth century
AK	:	Bishop Anthony Kitchin's Return, printed to Browne Willis's <i>Llandaff</i> , pp. 196-211
AO	:	Alumni Oxonienses
App.	:	Appendix
Bangor	:	A.I. Pryce, <i>The Diocese of Bangor during Three Centuries</i>
BCS	:	Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, Vol. XIV (1950) pp. 50-53 and 131-38
BW	:	Brown Willis, Survey of St Asaph considerably enlarged by Edward Edwards (London, 1801)
CB	:	Call Book: Ordinary Visitation of the Diocese of St Asaph, National Library of Wales Ms. SA/V/1
CSPD	:	Calendar of State Papers Domestic
Dodd	:	Ed. A.H. Dodd: <i>A Hisotry of Wrexham</i>
DNB	:	Dictionary of National Biography
DRT	:	D.R. Thomas, The Diocese of St Asaph (3 vols)
DWB	:	Dictionary of Welsh Biography
E334	:	Exchequer Register for the Composition of First Fruits and Tenths
GB	:	Parish Guide Book
H	:	Harleian Manuscript
JAB	:	J.A. Bradney, History of Monmouthshire (4 vols).
J and F	:	William Basil Jones and Edward Augustus Freeman, The History and Antiquities of St David's (London, 1856)
JHSCW	:	Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales
JWRH	:	Journal of Welsh Religious History
JE	:	A State of the Proceedings of the Corporation of the Governors of the Bounty of Queen Anne for the Augmentation of the Maintenance of the Poor Clergy, Second Edition (London, 1721)
Lans.M	:	Lansdowne Manuscript
s.	:	

LI	:	Liber Institutorum
LN	:	John Le Neve, Fasti
LP	:	Lambeth Palace (Manuscript)
MG	:	(St Asaph) 'The Diocese of St Asaph in 1563' <i>JWRH</i> Vol. 1 (1993) pp. 16-33 <i>ad loc.</i>
	:	(Llandaff) 'The Diocese of Llandaff in 1563' <i>JWRH</i> Vol. 2 (1994) p. 71.
MR	:	Bishop Mainwaring's Register
NB	:	Church Notice Board
PP	:	Francis Green and T.W. Barker, Pembrokeshire Parsons, in Historical Society of West Wales Transactions, Vols I-IV.
RD	:	Bishop Richard Davies's Return, printed in Browne Willis's <i>St Asaph</i> , pp. 251-64
RM	:	Bishop Rowland Meyrick's Return, printed in Browne Willis's <i>Bangor</i> , pp. 262-71
RN	:	Richard Newcombe, <i>A Memoir of Gabriel Goodman</i> .
Shaw	:	W. Shaw: <i>The English Church during the Civil War</i> .
TJ	:	Theophilus Jones, History of Brecknockshire
TR	:	Thomas Richards, I: The Puritan Movement in Wales, 1639-53 II: Religious Developments in Wales, 1654-62
W	:	John Walker, Sufferings of the Clergy
WHR	:	Welsh History Review

INTRODUCTION

The title as approved for this study defines its scope. It is a study of the Welsh clergy in the period 1558 - 1642, that is to say, the personnel of the sacred ministry of the Church. It is not a study of the Church in Wales as such, still less an attempt to write a history of the Reformation in this period. Such a limitation of scope is necessary lest the study should become diffuse. A further limitation must be added: the subject is the clergy of the Established Church, or Church of England in Wales. The clergy of the Roman Catholic Church, both those who left the Established Church around 1559 and those who were subsequently ordained (usually in Europe) to minister to the Catholic flock, belong properly to the history of recusancy, which is a study in its own right, though the existence of recusancy must be noted as a limitation on the success of the Established Church. Towards the end of the period under investigation, the first dissenting congregations were beginning to emerge. The ministers who led most of these were clergymen who left the Established Church, sometimes after many years of service, and these have, therefore, their proper place in this study.

Over the past sixty years or so, a number of studies have been produced of the Anglican clergy in a particular area, usually a diocese or county. One objective of this study is to examine the clergy in Wales to see how far the situation there resembled or differed from other parts of the Established Church. But source material on the Church in Wales in this period is limited:- visitation records, consistory court records, call books and ordination papers are virtually non-existent; bishops' registers are practically complete only for the diocese of Bangor, and even here, the information is more limited than that, for instance, in the Bishops of Hereford's registers. Many questions, therefore, have to remain unanswered, or very partially answered, about the Welsh clergy in this period - how faithfully they put the Reformation ordinances into practice and what response they elicited from their congregations; and matters of clerical discipline, including how dutiful they were in preaching, residence and hospitality.

The first aim of this study, however, is to establish as far as possible who the Welsh clergy were. Existing records make it possible to build up a list of clergy or incumbent status (though some gaps remain) and of the higher clergy - holders of

cathedral prebends and sinecures. Records of the non-beneficed clergy, mostly curates and chaplains, are much more sketchy, but such information as is known about them is still valuable. As well as identifying the clergy, the first part of this study aims to establish what can be known about their social and local origins and their education; also their careers - how many of them were static or mobile; and how far the higher clergy were integrated into the parochial structure. An important question for consideration is how well the parochial clergy were resourced, and the bearing this had on pluralism. In the second part of this study, an attempt will be made (allowing for the absence of visitation records and such like material) to assess relations between the clergy and the rest of the community, particularly the gentry, in terms of patronage and sureties. Finally, the contribution of the clergy to the religious literature of the period will be discussed.

First of all, it is necessary to define the term 'clergy' - i.e. men in the holy orders of bishop, priest or deacon. The term has, however, to be expanded slightly to include a few men and even boys who held ecclesiastical office (usually a sinecure) without being in major orders or possibly without ever being ordained at all.¹ Most but not all of these ecclesiastical 'laymen' are found early in the period under study. It should be added that the distinction between 'clerical' and 'lay' was in some ways less clear-cut at the accession of Elizabeth I than at that of Elizabeth II; clerical office-holders are found who also served as Members of Parliament.²

'Welsh' is a term with several possible meanings. Glanmore Williams has commented on the difficulty of defining Welsh nationhood;³ a recent BBC documentary examined three common connotations of the term - residence in Wales, Welsh origins, and ability to speak Welsh - and concluded that 'Welshness' was more a matter of subjective feeling than objective fact. It has to be said that this is not a study of clergy of Welsh origins, however defined. W.P.Griffith in *Welsh students at Oxford, Cambridge and the Inns of Court during the 16th and early 17th Centuries*⁴ has made an important contribution towards such a study. But a comprehensive study would only be possible if more were known about the origins of clergy working in England and indeed further afield. For the purpose of this study, 'Welsh clergy' means holders of ^{a benefice or other ecclesiastical} office in one of the four Welsh dioceses.* Such a definition is bound to be arbitrary. Two of the most distinguished clergy of Welsh origins in the period under study spent virtually the
 * i.e. St. Asaph, Bangor, Llandaff and St. David's. Monmouth, and Swansea and Brecon are modern subdivisions of the two latter respectively.

whole of their career in England - Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Westminster, and John Williams, Dean of Westminster, Bishop of Lincoln, and Archbishop of York. There were others of Welsh origin who do not fall within the limits of this study - among them Welshmen who lived out their careers as dons at Oxford or Cambridge. On the other hand, there are included clergy of English (occasionally Scottish or Continental) origin; some took up residence in Wales and may, like William Nicholson, have become 'naturalised' to the point of being able to converse and preach in Welsh; others, like Pierre du Moulin senior, probably never even set foot in Wales.

The phrase used above, 'holders of office in one of the four Welsh dioceses' has been carefully chosen. Political boundaries, drawn as recently as the Acts of Union under Henry VIII, did not coincide with the older ecclesiastical frontiers. The diocese of St Asaph included the market town of Oswestry and some of the surrounding villages in Shropshire. St David's similarly overflowed the Herefordshire border near Hay-on-Wye. The diocese of Hereford, on the other hand, embraced three Welsh county towns (Montgomery, Radnor, and Monmouth), while Chester took in the detached portion of Flintshire ('English Flint'), which included the wealthy parish of Bangor-is-y-coed, and the equally wealthy border parish of Hawarden. Some parishes, even, straddled the border between England and Wales - Malpas, in Chester diocese, was partly in Flintshire; Llanymynech (St Asaph) lay astride the Shropshire-Montgomeryshire border. The Welsh-speaking district of Archenfield lay within the diocese and county of Hereford. Even modern boundary changes, including those made at the time of Disestablishment (1923), have failed to resolve some of these anomalies. Since this is a study of Anglican clergy, a group of dioceses - those lying wholly or predominantly in Wales - seems the most appropriate unit to study. Clergy serving in the Welsh parishes of Chester and Hereford (and the chapelry of Penlee in Lichfield and Coventry) have not been included, even though they might be 'Welsh' by every conceivable definition. Sometimes, clergy are found who served in, for instance, Montgomery borough (Hereford) and in Montgomeryshire (St Asaph), perhaps only a few miles away. But this is less remarkable than clergy holding livings, sometimes simultaneously, in Wales, and in Kent, Sussex, Norfolk, or Northumberland.

The period under investigation runs from the accession of Elizabeth I to the outbreak

of the Civil War in August 1642. The two events are significant milestones in English (and Welsh) Church History. The first inaugurated a religious settlement which, in England, is largely still in place today, and remained similarly extant in Wales until Disestablishment in 1923. The second ushered in the most serious challenge to that settlement, its temporary overthrow, and then its restoration with modifications. Strictly speaking, its terms should begin on 17 November 1558 (Queen Elizabeth's accession.) But it was not until Easter 1559 that the new Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity passed through Parliament, and not for several months more that her commissioners saw the legislation carried out. It is convenient for the historian that returns of the clergy made by the Bishops of St Asaph, Bangor, and Llandaff to Archbishop Parker still survive. No record is extant for St David's, if indeed one were ever made. But Episcopal registers for St David's survive for Queen Mary's reign and the early part of Elizabeth's; these, together with some other records, make it possible to construct some picture, even if an incomplete one, of the clergy of the diocese. With some note of early appointments, the reports for 1560/1 have been used as the *terminus a quo* for this study.

The outbreak of the Civil War marks a less definite frontier. The Long Parliament began its work of reform nearly two years earlier (November 1640). The Solemn League and Covenant, abolishing episcopacy and the Prayer Book, followed in 1642, but in parts of Wales which remained in Royalist hands, these changes only began to be implemented in the 1646. Nevertheless, the summer of 1642 has been used as the cut-off point; clergy who only took office in Wales after that point have not been included, but a glance has sometimes been taken at the career of those who continued in office into the Civil War period. 'Periods' in History refer to general characteristics rather than clearly defined times. The period of the Civil War and Interregnum in Wales is better written up than most periods between the Reformation and the Methodist Revival in Thomas Richards' two great books, *The Puritan Movement in Wales 1639 - 1653* (London, 1920) and *Religious Developments in Wales 1654 - 1662* (London 1923).⁵ Mention should also be made of G.H.Jenkins' *Literature, Religion and Society in Wales 1660 - 1750* (Cardiff 1978), published in Welsh as *Llenyddiaeth, Crefydd a'r Gymdeithas yng Nghymru*. This gives important insights into developments in Wales between the Restoration and the rise of Methodism.

It needs to be stated that the four Welsh dioceses were an integral part of the Church of England and the Province of Canterbury from the twelfth century until 1923. The separation of the Welsh dioceses (now increased to six) into an independent province after Disestablishment, and the distinctiveness of Wales as a region, may obscure the part that Wales played in the Church of England in former centuries. Two valuable works of reference on the Civil War and Restoration periods are A.G. Matthews' *Calamy Revised* (Oxford 1934) and *Walker Revised* (Oxford 1948), studies of the ejections of clergy under the Puritans and under the Clarendon Code. It is regrettable that these works virtually ignore Wales - which is all the more surprising since the 'originals', Calamy's *Abridgment* and Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, take due account of ejections in Wales - but their authors were writing in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth Centuries. One reason for undertaking the present study is to restore the balance a little by taking account of Wales at a vital stage in the development of Anglicanism. It is good to note that one of the most stimulating historians on the Stuart period in recent times, Christopher Hill, takes note of Wales. His essay 'Propagating the Gospel' ⁶ naturally concerns Wales as being the region, along with the northern borders, where the Commonwealth was concerned to do its evangelisation. But his *Economic Problems of the Church* (Oxford 1958) takes account of some particular Welsh evidence - St David's Cathedral, for instance - and makes some comparisons between Wales and other 'remote' parts such as Carlisle, Richmondshire, and Northumberland. ⁷

Much interest has been displayed in recent years in the local aspects of Church History, and for this reason it is important that the special significance of Wales should not be overlooked. Christopher Haigh and Rosemary O'Day have done valuable work on local aspects of Church History, the former with *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (London 1975) and his essay 'Finance and Administration in a new diocese: Chester 1541 - 1641' in *Continuity and Change* (ed. Rosemary O'Day, Leicester 1976); Rosemary O'Day's doctoral thesis, *Clerical Patronage and Recruitment in the Elizabethan and early Stuart period, with special reference to the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield* (London University 1972) and *The English Clergy 1558 - 1642* (Leicester 1979) provide equally valuable information, especially for the West Midlands. These studies bring the searcher to the boundaries of Wales - indeed,

at Hawarden and Penlee, just across it. They make valuable comparisons between the West Midlands and North-West England on the one hand, and great centres of commerce and learning, London, Oxford and Cambridge on the other. Other studies of particular value which may be mentioned at this point are B.N.Wilson, *The Changes of the Reformation period in Durham and Northumberland* (Durham University, 1939), D.M.Barratt, *The Condition of the English parish clergy from the Reformation to 1660, with special reference to the dioceses of Oxford, Gloucester and Worcester* (Oxford University, 1949) and R.A.Christophers, *Social and Educational Background of the Surrey Clergy, 1520 - 1620* (London University 1975). The last named offers the study of an area very different from Wales and close to the centre of national affairs, while H.G.Owen, *The London parish clergy in the reign of Elizabeth I* (London University 1957) concentrates on the one really great urban centre of Tudor England. It is hoped in this present study to extend the vision further and take cognisance of the Principality of Wales.

Having stressed that the four Welsh dioceses were part of the Province of Canterbury, it needs to be asked what they had in common. On geographical grounds, there would be a case for considering the dioceses of Llandaff, Gloucester and Hereford as a unit, or the counties of Denbigh, Flint, Chester and Shropshire. For reasons of time and space, it has been found necessary in this study to put the main emphasis on drawing out the points of comparison and the contrasts within Wales, as well as making meaningful comparisons with the situation in parts of England where possible. The Welsh bishops were poorly paid, but St David's was better remunerated than Rochester or Gloucester, and Welsh parishes were by no means uniformly poor. It may be argued that all they had in common was in fact their 'Welshness', their sharing a common cultural and historical heritage, on which Chester and Hereford alone among English dioceses barely encroached. But Wales in former times had been divided politically between the ancient kingdoms of Gwynedd, Powys and Deheubarth, and the great lordships of Morgannwg and Gwent, to which the four Welsh dioceses roughly corresponded. In respect of the counties as they stood after the Acts of Union, St Asaph embraced Flintshire, Denbighshire (apart from Dyffryn Clwyd), most of Montgomeryshire and a part of Merioneth; Bangor comprised Caernarfonshire, Anglesey, Dyffryn Clwyd and the remainder of Montgomeryshire and Merioneth; St

David's included the counties of Pembroke, Cardigan and Carmarthen, together with Gower, in the West, Breconshire and Radnorshire in the East; while Llandaff covered Glamorgan (apart from Gower) and Monmouthshire. One of the main purposes of this study is to examine how far generalisations about 'Wales' and 'the Welsh Church' stand up to closer scrutiny. 'North Wales' and 'South Wales' have long been distinguished for administrative and postal purposes;⁸ Tudor and early Stuart administration knew an East-West distinction between 'Wales' and 'The Marches'⁹ which may sometimes be more meaningful; in this study, only the Welsh side of 'the Marches' is under consideration, apart from the deanery of Marchia in the diocese of St Asaph.

The Church in Wales during this period (1558 - 1642) has tended to suffer both from generalisations and from a generally bad press. It probably suffered at least as much from its friends as its enemies (if it is charitable to describe critics from other churches as 'enemies.')

Welsh bishops in Stuart times often referred to their dioceses as poor, and the distinction which may have existed in their minds between material and spiritual poverty has not always come across. One of the most readable (and therefore influential) accounts of the Church in Wales is Erasmus Saunders' *A view of the state of religion in the Diocese of St David's about the beginning of the 18th Century*. He writes eloquently:

so many of our churches are in actual ruins; so many more are ready to fall, and almost robbed and pillaged by a sweeping alienation of all the tithes, as well as of the lands and glebes once belonging to them, and become the properties of such persons as generally seem to think themselves neither by law nor conscience bound to maintain the worship of God in them.¹⁰

Erasmus Saunders' testimony has to be received with great caution. He was writing over half a century after the close of this study, and the Civil War which had taken place in the interim had not improved the situation in the Welsh Church. But Saunders was writing specifically of the diocese of St David's, and it is dangerous to apply his picture indiscriminately to the whole of Wales. Moreover, he had a particular axe to grind: he correctly identified impropriations as one of the principal causes of the Church's poverty (a factor not exclusive to Wales), and hoped (in vain, as it proved) to move or shame the impropriators into a voluntary act of restoration

comparable to that of Queen Anne's Bounty. The chief effect of his book was to create a picture of the Welsh Church struggling (sometimes heroically) with penurious curates ministering in ruinous churches.

A century and a half later, the distinguished historian, H.O.Wakeman, did the Welsh Church a possibly greater disservice. Writing of the Laudian movement, he says; ¹¹

The Welsh, at that time were not ripe for it. They were not educated enough, nor intellectual enough, may I add, not civilised enough.

There must be some doubts about the judgment of an historian, at least on this subject, who can dismiss the great Bishop Richard Davies as a 'harpy', ¹² but it is doubtful whether he really understood Wales, while understanding of 'Calvinism' and 'Laudianism' has moved on considerably since his day. ¹³ On one point, however, the present writer finds himself in agreement with Wakeman: whatever impact the Laudian Movement had in Wales was felt for the most part after the Restoration rather than before the Civil War.

A number of accounts have, nevertheless, been written in the last hundred years which have gone some way towards redressing the adverse picture presented by such writers as Saunders and Wakeman. In addition to those already mentioned, note may be taken of the short but valuable diocesan histories brought out by S.P.C.K. - those for St Asaph (D.R.Thomas) and St David's (W.L.Bevan) in 1888, Llandaff (E.J.Newell) in 1902 and Bangor (W.Hughes) in 1911. Early this century came Bishop Alfred Edwards' *Landmarks in the History of the Welsh Church* and J.E. de Hirsch-Davies' *A Popular History of the Church in Wales*. Both were written in 1912 when the prospect of disestablishment made it desirable to polish up the image of the Welsh Church. The importance of the translation of the Bible and Prayer Book into Welsh, and the availability of other spiritual literature in Welsh has been a theme of many writers of this century. D.R.Thomas was a pioneer with *The Life and Work of Bishop Davies and William Salesbury* in 1902, followed by J.Ballinger, *The Bible in Wales* four years later. Since World War II, a number of valuable studies have been written: J.W.James, *A Church History of Wales* (Ilfracombe, 1945) and G.Dyfnallt Owen, *Elizabethan Wales: the Social Scene* (Cardiff, 1962); David Williams' authoritative *A History of Modern Wales* (London, 1950) contains chapters on the Reformation Settlement and Elizabethan and Jacobean Wales. Special mention must be made of

the contribution of Professor Glanmor Williams to the study of the Reformation period in Wales. This includes a number of articles and essays which will be discussed in the text, but if any are to be singled out, they must include the essay on Religion and Belief in *Tudor Wales* (Cardiff, 1988), the articles on the Elizabethan Settlement of Religion in Wales and the Marches 1559 - 60¹⁴ and on the Diocese of St David's from the end of the Middle Ages to the Methodist Revival,¹⁵ and the collection of essays, *Religion, Language and Nationality in Wales* (Cardiff, 1979), which is particularly valuable on the interrelated questions of education, literature and the Welsh language. His recent book *Wales and the Reformation* (Cardiff, 1997), draws together work in this field undertaken over a period of some forty years. A number of the works cited above cover a wider range than the period of this study, but that also is advantageous in setting the Elizabethan and early Stuart period in its proper context. Reference will also be made in the text to articles in the journals of Welsh local history societies, the publications of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, *Y Cymmrodor* and the *Transactions*, and the successive journals of Welsh ecclesiastical history.

While a clearer and more accurate picture of the Elizabethan and early Stuart Church in Wales has begun to emerge, the personnel of the clergy have received less attention than they deserve. Such accounts of the clergy as have been written vary considerably from diocese to diocese. D.R.Thomas' great three-volume history of the Diocese of St Asaph (Oswestry, 1908) brings together a vast amount of information from parish sources; it makes a valuable foundation for establishing who the incumbents of the diocese actually were in this period, sometimes with additional information as to their academic qualification and cross-references to their careers; it also has some information on that elusive subject, Welsh curates. After 85 years, it is time for Archdeacon Thomas' information to be up-dated, but his contribution to the Church History of Wales in this period is still outstanding. A similar survey of Monmouthshire parish-by-parish was undertaken by J.A.Bradney (London, 1907), for Breconshire by Theophilus Jones (the revised edition published at Brecon, 1909) and for Pembrokeshire by Francis Green and T.W.Barker. The Diocese of Bangor has been well served in a different way. Its virtually full set of episcopal registers has been edited and published by A.I.Pryce, and suitably up-dated, provides an excellent basis for study. The surviving registers for St David's in the reigns of Mary and

Elizabeth have been published in the *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*. That of Bishop Mainwaring at the end of the period under study still awaits publication.¹⁶

Apart from the sources listed in the last paragraph, the main information for establishing who the Welsh clergy were is to be found in two documents in the Public Record Office: the Exchequer Books for the Compounding for First Fruits and Tents, and the *Libri Institutorum*. The latter contain little information before 1603, while the former give a less-than-complete record of the appointment of incumbents. A valuable supplement to these sources is the record kept by successive Lord Keepers and Lord Chancellors of their appointments to livings. These are relevant chiefly to Crown livings, but also to parishes where the Crown acquired the right of appointment through lapse, promotion or vacancy in see. Incidental information comes from other sources - parish records which have found their way onto church lists of incumbents or into guide books, or an incidental record in a book; but the picture which can be compiled from all these sources is incomplete, and the evidence sometimes contradictory. The period where the information is least satisfactory is the latter half of Queen Elizabeth's reign - roughly from 1580 - 1600; the information is fuller for St Asaph and Bangor than for the South, and less good for Carmarthen, Glamorgan and Radnor than for other counties in St David's and Llandaff.

It has already been stated that incumbents are not the whole of the clergy, and that curates, indispensable though they were to the working of the system (e.g. by standing in for pluralist vicars, or those who were aged and infirm), have left behind scanty records of themselves. There were also clergy whose vocation lay in the world of learning rather than in the parishes. Records of those in the academic world are to be found in various college histories, notably in that of E.G.Hardy for Jesus College, Oxford (London 1900) and Thomas Baker for St John's College, Cambridge (Cambridge 1869) - two colleges with strong Welsh connections; and W.P.Griffith's thesis has already been mentioned and his book *Learning, Law and Religion*.^{*} However, an account of these belongs rather to the history of Oxford and Cambridge Universities than to that of the Church of Wales. An attempt will, however, be made to give an account of the schoolmasters serving in Wales in this period. The Bangor Episcopal records and St Asaph Act Book also make mention of a different category of clergy - those serving as chaplains in the houses of the gentry; note will be taken of

* supra, p.2 ; n.4.

these; they were not exclusive to the Diocese of Bangor, but there is little record of them elsewhere.

During the period under study, one of the major figures in the formation of the Church of England was in office - Archbishop John Whitgift. He was a conservative reformer: opposed to the radical changes proposed by the Puritans and Presbyterians, he accepted the Church's structures as he found them and sought to turn them to good use and not bad. What effect did his policies have on the Church in Wales? During the same period, another man was in office who (rightly or wrongly) is often regarded as the architect, if not of Anglicanism, at least of its 'High Church' variety - William Laud; Laud was for five years Bishop of St David's, and in his own way also a friend of the Welsh Church; what impact did he have on it, either as Bishop of St David's or Archbishop of Canterbury? These are also questions which it is intended to address.

It is necessary to offer a working definition of Anglicanism at this point, though it is a far from easy task. The very term 'Anglican' was hardly used before the Restoration.¹⁷ Conforming members of the Church of England usually referred to themselves simply as 'Protestants.'¹⁸ Under Elizabeth I 'Anglicans' shared a common outlook with continental Protestants, but were identifiable with no one European Church. With regard to the Royal Supremacy, government by bishops, and a place in ecclesiology for adiaphora, the Church of England most closely resembled the Lutheran churches, particularly those in Scandinavia.¹⁹ In Eucharistic doctrine, the Church of England was closest to the teaching of Bucer and Calvin; the second Prayer Book of Edward VI was capable of a Zwinglian interpretation,²⁰ while by Charles I's time, Arminian doctrine had become distinctly High Church.²¹ In Church-State relations, the Church of England was closer to churches which followed Luther or Zwingli than those which followed Calvin.²² But the theology of the Elizabethan Church owed more to Calvin than has often been recognised; in the doctrine of predestination, it would be hard to distinguish between the Elizabethan Fathers and Calvin himself; later refinements of the doctrine by Calvin's successors, Beza, Gomarius and Zanchius, were not generally followed in England; apart from Calvin himself, the English Church was most influenced by Bullinger of Zurich, whose advice was much sought after at the time of the Elizabethan Settlement.²³

It is a matter of debate whether or not a distinctive 'Anglican' theology is traceable, at

least in embryo, to John Jewel's sermons at Paul's Cross in 1559, which he developed in his classical *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*.²⁴ Jewel, Parker and Whitgift may or may not have fostered a distinctive character in Anglicanism,²⁵ but it is generally agreed that such a character emerged clearly with Hooker's *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (1594). Hooker's importance is in founding a theological system on different ground from the teaching of Calvin.²⁶ But Hooker was a non-Calvinist rather than an anti-Calvinist, and he should not be seen as launching the movement known as 'Arminianism' in England. There had already been critics of Calvinism in England before the rise of the Dutch theologian Arminius,²⁷ notably William Barrett and Peter Baro.²⁸ But 'Arminianism' in England was not really a theological position; pillars of the establishment like Whitgift, Vaughan and Andrewes tried to enforce an orthodox Calvinist line in the Lambeth Articles of 1595.²⁹ But Andrewes was among those who sought to balance the over-emphasis (as he now saw it) on preaching by the Puritans with a dignified performance of the liturgy and the fostering of private devotions.³⁰ The balance tilted the other way, possibly with disastrous results,³¹ when William Laud came to power, as Bishop of London in 1628, and as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633, with the enforcement of the eastward position of the altar, and the strict curbing of 'Puritan' preaching.

The Arminian movement brought into sharper focus two important aspects of Anglicanism. One is the Book of Common Prayer, largely the work of Thomas Cranmer, and his greatest legacy to the Church of England. In spite of radical features in the 1552 Communion rite, the Anglican liturgy was largely traditionalist; it provided the Church with a rich worshipping life and almost certainly helped to keep within the fold many non-papal Catholics.³² At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, the latter were probably the great majority of both clergy and laity, including some, like Cheney of Gloucester and Kitchin of Llandaff, on the bench of bishops. The other aspect of Anglicanism is one identified by one of its converts in recent times, Canon Amand de Mandieta : symbiosis - 'living together.' This he defined as a co-existence of (apparent) incompatibles which held the possibility of a 'wider theological agreement and a strong Church unity through dialectical debates.'³³ Illogical though such an ecclesiology may seem, it was a consequence of the 'monarchical principle' which lay at the heart of Anglicanism, and was born out of the unique set of circumstances through

which the Church of England separated from Rome - the need to establish a national Church on a wide base of acceptance if not enthusiasm, a need which to many monarchs and statesmen was a matter, not of expediency, but of conscience.³⁴

Much of what is written above helps to explain why 'Puritans' were less than satisfied with the Elizabethan Settlement. The term 'Puritan' is also difficult to define, but for opposite reasons from those for 'Anglicanism'. The term 'Puritan' was in use in Elizabethan and early Stuart times, but it was mainly used by the opponents of those called 'Puritans', who were equally likely to call them 'precisians'.³⁵ 'Puritans' were likely to refer to themselves as 'the godly'. In popular speech today, 'Puritan' suggests a strict attitude, particularly on matters of sexual morality, but in the period under study, Puritans were not more moralistic than religious people in general.³⁶ While most Puritans were Calvinists and believed in predestination, not all Calvinists were Puritans, even in the 1630s.³⁷

Few would disagree with what Glanmor Williams has written:

They wanted a simpler order of service nearer to that of Calvinist reformed churches in other countries, a stricter observance of Sundays, less emphasis on vestments and ritual, much greater attention to preaching....³⁸

His final characteristic of a Puritan as having 'a more scrupulous concern for personal sanctity of life' would not distinguish such an individual from conformist saints like Charles I, George Herbert or Nicholas Ferrar, though it may well have been true vis-à-vis the average non-Puritan man or woman in the pew. The difficulty in defining 'Puritan' is to find a description which covers all those to whom the term is applied, particularly as 'Puritanism' itself evolved to meet a whole series of challenges between 1559 and 1640. It is relatively straightforward to identify Puritans in the 1560s as those who wanted to abolish 'ceremonies' such as vestments, the ring in marriage and the cross in baptism, which remained a kind of reserve agenda in Puritanism; or in the 1570s as those who, like Thomas Cartwright, sought to presbyterianise the government of the Church - a goal which was relegated after the Hampton Court Conference until Laud's policies kindled a new hostility to episcopacy.³⁹ Peter Lake has pointed up the differences between those who may be conveniently called 'moderate Puritans' and the Separatists.⁴⁰ Predestinarian theology, which divided humanity ultimately into the Elect and the Reprobate, inevitably posed a problem for

all Calvin's disciples: Did the Church minister to both saints and sinners, hoping to convert as many as possible of the latter before the Day of Judgment? Such a position was the only one compatible with a national Church, and it was that taken up both by Anglican Calvinists such as Whitgift and Vaughan, and moderate Puritans, the latter seeking to reform the Church from within, like leaven in the lump. Alternatively, was the Church to be the Church of the Elect, from which sinners were to be firmly excluded, and should such a reformation begin at once without tarrying for the magistrate, as Robert Harrison and the Separatists believed?⁴¹ Glanmor Williams describes the Puritans as a party 'who would never seriously have thought of leaving the Established Church during the age of Elizabeth and the first two Stuart kings.'⁴² Historians disagree as to whether the Separatists should be included under the definition of Puritans or not. Durston and Eales include 'radical sectaries' as well as presbyterians within what they term the 'common Puritan culture.'⁴³ John Morgan, on the other hand, thinks that Separatists should be omitted from those defined as 'Puritans'.⁴⁴ Since 'Separatist' is easier to define (i.e. someone who separated from the Established Church, or at least wished to do so), it is more convenient in this study to follow Morgan's lead.

Under James I and Charles I, the great conforming period of moderate Puritanism, it is particularly difficult to say who the Puritans were. Conformists and Puritans both sought to promote godliness through preaching and devotional writing. Some of the literature which might nowadays be regarded as 'Puritan' did not appear to be so at the time.⁴⁵ Even where Puritan ministers kept to the Book of Common Prayer and the rites and ceremonies thereof, certain behaviour did seem to mark out 'Puritans' from their neighbours: 'gadding' to sermons outside one's own parish; holding fasts not authorised by the Prayer Book; lecturing and prophesying; opposition to the Book of Sports; resistance to Laud's policy on the altar. It will be seen what evidence there is of such practices in Wales during this period.

Significantly, John Morgan objects to the concept of 'Puritanism' while accepting the existence of a body of people collectively known as 'Puritans'.⁴⁶ Perhaps, equally, there is no such thing as 'Anglicanism', only a 'spectrum' of people called (nowadays) 'Anglicans'. Such terms are, obviously, convenient shorthand, and while their use cannot be avoided, it needs to be safeguarded with an understanding of their

limitations.

In this study, the Welsh Church has been examined diocese by diocese and deanery by deanery. This inevitably gives a certain shape to the study, but one which can nevertheless be justified. It is an examination of a part of the Anglican Church, and that is the way that particular Church is organised. As has already been stated, part of the purpose of the study is to examine differences within Wales, not only between dioceses but also within them. Ecclesiastical boundaries were often more ancient than political ones, and usually corresponded either to geographical or historical realities.

The pattern adopted has been in the main to examine the dioceses in the order (1) St Asaph; (2) Bangor; (3) Llandaff and (4) St David's. This corresponds to the alphabetical order in Latin, Assaphen standing for St Asaph and Menevia for St David's. This is the order, therefore, in which some, but not all, of the records are found. Inevitably, this tends to make St Asaph the yardstick by which the rest of Wales is measured. That may not be entirely a bad thing. There is no such thing as a 'typical' Welsh diocese, but St Asaph was less completely Welsh than Bangor, less Anglicised (and less despoiled) than Llandaff, less scattered than St David's. That records for St Asaph are (along with Bangor) relatively complete makes it as good an instance as any to be used as the 'golden mean'.

Within dioceses, deaneries have for the most part been considered in the order in which they appear in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*. This is probably as logical an order as any other, and more so than treating them alphabetically. Except in Bangor, the order begins with the deanery nearest to the cathedral, and then tends to work through the diocese region by region. Thus, St Asaph falls into three regions: the northern deaneries of Tegeingl and Rhos, the Border regions, and the southern deaneries of Montgomeryshire and Merioneth. Llandaff falls naturally into the counties of Glamorgan and Monmouth. Two exceptions have been made. In Bangor diocese, Eifionydd (south Caernarfonshire) has been considered along with the rest of the county, rather than with Merioneth - the River Glaslyn forms a natural frontier between the two deaneries and the two counties. In St David's the deaneries of Emlyn and Cemais, which lie on the borders of Pembrokeshire and Cardiganshire, have been considered after the other Pembrokeshire deaneries and before those of Cardiganshire,

instead of after the latter, as in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*. St David's then falls into three areas - Pembrokeshire and Cardiganshire in the West, Brecon and Radnor in the East, and Carmarthenshire and Gower in the centre.

Finally, a word must be added on the use of place-names. In a bilingual country like Wales, variations of place-names can be confusing, particularly to monoglot English-speakers, and it is supposed that some, at least, of the readers of this study will be among the latter. I have been guided by the principle adopted by a great spokesman for Wales, Wynford Vaughan Thomas: '... the newcomer to Welsh history might still be puzzled by some of the changes in spelling. For example, he might not recognise Kidwelly under its correct Welsh form of Cydweli. I have therefore adopted the change where it is recognisable - Conwy for Conway - and retained the old Anglicised form where the correct Welsh form may be confusing - Carmarthen for Caerfyrddin.'⁴⁷

One may add that non-Welsh readers may have difficulty recognising Trallwng as Welshpool or Treffynnon as Holywell. It is hoped that true Welsh readers, particularly if they are true Welsh speakers, will be indulgent. One of the motives in undertaking this study has been the hope of arousing an interest among English scholars in part of the common heritage of England and Wales which may easily suffer from undue neglect. It seems appropriate to accept Anglicisms and the English form of the alphabet if that is to make the task any easier.

1. In the Middle Ages, all boys who attended grammar school were admitted as clerks in minor orders. This would cover all those considered in this study. Only the order of reader survived the Reformation, and readers in the Church of England are classed as laity. O'Day *Education and Society 1500 - 1800*, London and New York, 1982, pp. 132ff.) notes preaching and pastoral work as the new marks of the clergy, but they still had exclusive authority to administer the sacraments. Henry VIII's statutes for the New Cathedral Foundations (former monastic houses) required them to support scholars at the universities. The provision only lasted until 1545 - 6. - C.S.Knighton, *The Provision of Education in the New Cathedral Foundations of Henry VIII in Close Encounters*, ed.David Marcombe and C.S.Knighton (Nottingham 1991) p.25. The Welsh cathedrals were older, secular foundations and were not bound by these statutes, but the Welsh dioceses may have been acting according to their spirit, and continued to do so long after 1546.
2. Possible (in theory) as late as 1807. The Medieval prohibitions on clergy bearing arms or taking part in trials involving life or limb (*causae sanguinis*) are more significant, and continue in practice to the present.
3. *Religion, Language and Nationality in Wales* (Cardiff 1979) p.110.
4. University of Wales, PhD thesis, 1981. See also his book *Learning, Law and Religion : Higher Education and Welsh Society, c1540 - 1640* (Cardiff 1996).
5. Richards' choice of 1639 as his *terminus a quo* (the founding of the dissenting congregation at Llanfaches) shows how fluid the determination of particular periods is, depending on different points of view.
6. 'Propagating the Gospel' in *Essays presented to David Ogg*, Eds H.E.Bell and R.L.Ollard (London 1963) pp.35ff.
7. All three were in the Province of York. In the Province of Canterbury, Wales should probably be compared with Cornwall for 'remoteness.' Apart from distance from the capital, Hill compares poverty of livings in the dioceses of Carlisle, St David's and Sodor and Man (pp.202 - 3) and the evil effects of impropriations (non-residence and lack of preaching) in Wales, Richmondshire and

Northumberland (p.146). For a discussion of impropriations in Wales, see *infra* Chap.6

8. Calamy's *Abridgment* and G.L.Turner *Original Records of Early Nonconformity* (London 1911) treat 'North Wales' (6 counties) and 'South Wales' (7 counties) collectively. Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy* treats the Welsh counties individually.
9. It is not unusual for the more Anglicised Welsh of the Eastern counties to refer to themselves as 'border people.' (The Marches means the Borders.)
10. *op. cit.* (reprint, Cardiff 1949) p.4.
11. 'The Laudian Movement in Wales' in *Cymru Fydd* Vol.III (1890) p.279.
12. *ibid.*
13. See P.Clark, N.Tyacke and A.G.R.Smith, *The English Commonwealth 1547 - 1640* (1979) and Conrad Russell (ed.) *The Origin of the English Civil War* (1973).
14. *Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales* (JHSCW) Vol.II, No.5 (1950)
15. *JHSCW*. Vol.XXV (Cardiff 1976).
16. Bishop's Register No.3 (SD/BR/3) in the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.
17. Patrick Collinson in *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London 1969). p.27, acknowledges the difficulty of defining 'Anglican' and 'Puritan'. The term 'Anglican' was first used by Howell in 1635 and Fell in 1660 but became much more popular after its use by the Tractarians. The Latin *Ecclesia Anglicana* was used in Magna Carta and by Jewel as the title of *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (1562) where he is using the term of the reformed Elizabethan Church.
18. Collinson, *op.cit.*p.53. It is significant that even after the Restoration, Bishop Stillingfleet was writing a 'Rational Account... of the *Protestant* Religion.'
19. Heiko A.Obermann, *The Reformation: Roots and Ramifications* (Edinburgh 1994), pp 152 ff. The closest ecumenical links between the Church of England and continental Protestantism have, at least since the last century, been with the Scandinavian Lutheran Churches.
20. H.C.Porter *Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge* (Cambridge 1958) pp.66 - 7 .
21. Peter Heylyn *A Coal from the Altar* (1636) is probably the best known of the

Caroline Eucharistic writings. The term 'High Church' is anachronistic before 1689, but it is generally understood as referring to Anglicans of a more Catholic inclination.

22. Obermann, op.cit., p:187.

23. Calvin in *The Institutes of Christian Religion*, Book III, Chapter 21, wrote very cautiously about Predestination, saying '....the moment we go beyond the limits of Scripture, we shall be off course, in the dark and stumbling.' He in fact asserted only that God predestined the Elect to salvation; it was his disciples who added that the Reprobate were predestined to damnation. The terms 'reprobation', 'infralapsarian' and 'supralapsarian' do not appear in the Anglican formularies. Bullinger considered 'the common topic and goal of all the books of the Bible...to be the historical covenant of God, understood in the infralapsarian context' (i.e. after the Fall of Adam) - Obermann, op.cit., p.103. William Perkins (1558 - 1602) influenced Puritan thinking on predestination particularly with *De Praedestinationis Modo et Ordine* (1598). George Carleton, Bishop of Llandaff and Chichester, who represented the Church of England at the Synod of Dort was probably one of the most 'advanced' English predestinarians.

24. *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. F.L.Cross (ODCC) : Jewel, John.

25. For Parker's Eucharistic theology see Porter, op.cit., p.67. Porter makes the pertinent observation, ibid., p.65 that all three of Elizabeth's Archbishops of Canterbury (Parker, Grindal and Whitgift) were Bucer's disciples at Cambridge. G.W.Bernard, 'The Church of England c.1529 - c.1642' in *History* Vol.75, No.244 (June 1990) p.191, asserts that 'Anglicanism' was not 'invented' by Hooker, and that the 'Hookerian' element in Whitgift's writings has been underestimated by Tyacke and others.

26. ODCC, Hooker, Richard. D.M.Hoyle, *Near Popery yet no Popery: Theological Debate in Cambridge 1590 - 1644* (Cambridge University PhD thesis, 1991), p.18, says that Hooker 'dared to produce a systematic defence of a divinity quite distinct from that of Calvin.' Hoyle also observes (pp.13-14) that Calvinism became (after the Master's death) a 'Protestant scholasticism in which Scripture was subordinated to arguing doctrine.' His claim that 'The Calvinism of Beza and Perkins became a dominant creed at Cambridge' (p.14) is more contentious - it hardly allows for the

much more moderate Calvinism of Andrewes and Overall.

27. For Jakob Hermandszoon, commonly known as Arminius, see *ODCC: Arminianism*. Arminius wrote a reply to Perkins' *De Praedestinationis Modo* (ibid., Perkins: William). The nub of Arminius' argument was that the key text 'Jacob I loved, but Esau I hated' (*Romans* 9, v.13) meant, not that God arbitrarily loved one brother and hated the other, but that God loved people like Jacob (the obedient) and hated those like Esau (who was spendthrift of his inheritance.)
28. Porter, op.cit., Chaps.15 - 18 explores the controversies surrounding Barrett and Baro which surfaced before Arminius came into conflict with Gomarius in 1603. Arminius was a more radical critic of Calvin than Baro, Andrewes or Overall.
29. Porter, op.cit., Chap.16.
30. Kenneth Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor: The Episcopate of James I* (Oxford, 1990) p.232. Andrewes' *Preces Privatae* is a classic book of Anglican private devotions, but it is not always appreciated that Andrewes was following in a tradition of Puritan books of private devotion.
31. Russell (ed.) and Clark, etc. *opera cit.*(n.13). If the contention advanced by Russell, Tyacke and others that Arminianism/Laudianism was a major factor in provoking the Civil War, the slow progress of Arminianism in Wales would help to explain why in 1642 the Principality was less disaffected from Church and King. Peter White, 'The rise of Arminianism reconsidered' in *Past and Present* No.101 (Nov.1983) pp.34 - 54. challenges the view that Charles I and Laud were the great innovators in religion.
32. Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (Yale 1992), Chap.17, gives a particularly valuable insight into how the Elizabeth Settlement was gradually accepted, or at least acquiesced in. '...the prayer-book itself, from a weapon to break down the structures of traditional religion, became in many places their last redoubt' (p.590) - and he specifies saints' days, kneeling, the litany, fasts and sign of the Cross (in baptism) as features much valued by traditionalists.
33. 'From Anglican Symbiosis to Anglican Synthesis' in *The Anglican Synthesis*, ed.W.R.F.Browning (Derby 1964), p.136. Amand de Mandieta was a Belgian Benedictine monk before converting to Anglicanism; he became a canon of Winchester Cathedral.

34. Bernard, op.cit., p.185; Claire Cross, *The Royal Supremacy in the Elizabethan Church* (London 1969), p.70; Collinson, op.cit., pp.29, 53; Obermann, op.cit., p.209 says 'The idea of a national Church, born of conciliarism, became a reality' in England under Henry VIII.
35. Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales, 'The Puritan Ethos, 1560 - 1700' in *The Culture of English Puritanism 1560 - 1700*, ed. the same, (Basingstoke 1996), pp.2-3. Patrick Collinson's essay in the same volume 'Elizabethan and Jacobean Puritanism as Forms of Popular Religious Culture' (pp.33 ff.) gives a very readable account of Puritanism at grass-roots level.
36. *ibid.*, p.17
37. Among Calvinist bishops in Charles I's time were Williams (Lincoln), Morton (Durham) and Brownrigg (Exeter). In his controversy with John Cotton of Boston, who ultimately withdrew to New England, it was Bishop Williams who was the High Calvinist and Cotton who was leaning towards Arminianism (in theology) - Barrie Williams, *The Work of Archbishop John Williams* (Sutton Courtenay 1980) pp.43 - 4.
38. *Glamorgan County History (GCH)* Vol. IV, p.252.
39. Fincham, op.cit., pp.6, 304.
40. *Moderate puritans and the Elizabethan church* (Cambridge 1982), passim, but particularly pp.77 ff.
41. *ibid.*, p.80
42. *GCH* IV, p.252.
43. op.cit., pp.30 - 1.
44. *Godly Learning* (Cambridge 1986) p.10.
45. Bishop Lewis Bayly's *Practice of Piety* for instance, might well seem Puritan today, but it would be more accurate to describe it as 'Anglican Calvinist.'
46. op.cit., pp. 16ff. Fincham also, op.cit., p.2, describes 'Puritanism' as a tendency rather than a philosophy or a rigid set of rules.
47. *Wales* (London 1985, p.16. The practice is followed in this thesis of listing Welsh place-names as they would appear in an English gazetteer which covered Wales.

THE WELSH BISHOPS

Part 1 - The Elizabethan Settlement 1559 - 83

N.B. For notes 1 - 83 on Part 1, see pp. 40 - 44

At the accession of Queen Elizabeth, some half of the bishoprics of England and Wales were vacant through the death or translation of the last diocesan.¹ Of the remaining bishops, all but one (Kitchin of Llandaff) were soon removed by deprivation or death. The Queen, therefore, had virtually a free hand in the appointment of bishops, provided suitable candidates were forthcoming.

The actual enforcement of her religious settlement - the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, and the Royal Injunctions for Religion - was entrusted to commissioners. Those appointed in the summer of 1559 for Wales and the Marches (the four Welsh dioceses and those of Hereford and Worcester) included the three men who would shortly be appointed to the vacant Welsh sees - Richard Davies, Thomas Young and Rowland Meyrick. In the event, few of the clergy stood out against the settlement. Goldwell, Bishop of St Asaph under Queen Mary, and Morys Clynnog, who had been nominated for Bangor, fled to the continent, along with Gruffydd Robert, Archdeacon of Anglesey, and Morgan Phillips, Precentor of St David's. A small number, mainly of the higher clergy, were deprived by the Commissioners, including the Dean of St Asaph and three more archdeacons (St Asaph, Brecon and Carmarthen). But the total number of deprivations in Wales and the Marches may only just have reached double figures,² though among the clergy deprived in the following few years, some were probably recusants. But if resistance to the settlement was less than expected, 'The mass of the clergy were thought to be watching events in sullen or resentful silence.'³ Elizabeth's bishops, therefore, in Wales as in England, had the task of consolidating the settlement by the encouragement of preaching, particularly of Reformed doctrines, fostering a resident and caring ministry, and suppressing practices held to be idolatrous or superstitious.

Circumstances varied greatly in different parts of the country. In London, the South-East and the Midlands, the Reformers found, or soon fostered, strong support for Protestant teaching, particularly in the towns.⁴ In Durham and Northumberland, sympathy for Roman Catholicism was strong enough to lend support to the rebellion of

the Northern Earls, which had adherents even among the cathedral clergy.⁵ Lancashire had divided loyalties - support for advanced Protestantism in Liverpool, Manchester and the market towns, while Catholicism remained entrenched in the Fylde and the Ribble Valley, often supported by the local landowners.⁶ Lancashire, moreover, was not the only part of the country where problems of superstition (particularly witchcraft), godlessness and sheer ignorance were rife;⁷ problems seminary priests and Puritan ministers were as zealous in combating as the Anglican clergy were.

Wales shared many of these problems as well as having its own unique circumstances. The Reformed Faith may have been received in Wales with a conspicuous lack of enthusiasm,⁸ but no rebellion broke out there such as took place in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire in 1536, in the West Country in 1549, or in the Northern Counties in 1569. Actual recusancy may have been minimal in Wales at the beginning of the reign, but a hard core of devotees of the Old Faith emerged after the excommunication of the Queen (1570), particularly in the eastern counties of Wales.⁹ Apart from St David's, the Welsh dioceses were compact, without the problems of size (e.g. Norwich), distance (e.g. Chester) or sheer diversity (e.g. Lincoln).¹⁰ Nevertheless, difficulties of communication made parts of all the Welsh dioceses relatively remote - the wilds of Montgomeryshire, the upper valleys of Glamorgan, the distant parts of Cardiganshire. In Chapter 8, consideration will be given as to how far ignorance, even illiteracy, added to such problems - apart from the factor that a majority of the population were monoglot Welsh.

In confronting these problems, the Elizabethan bishop in England and in Wales had to play a new and largely unscripted rôle. The image of the medieval Lord Spiritual was considerably tarnished, not least by great prelates like Cardinal Wolsey. Considerable insight into the rôle of the reformed bishop has been provided by Kenneth Fincham in *Prelate as Pastor*.¹¹ His main focus is on the bishops of James I's reign, a late-middle point in the present enquiry, but one of particular usefulness as he shows how the Elizabethan bishops developed their rôle in such a way that it became generally acceptable under King James, only to be jeopardised under the unwise leadership of Archbishop Laud in the following reign.¹² The new-style bishop was expected to be a preacher himself and to promote preaching among his clergy; a resident and caring pastor; hospitable and charitable. The bishop's ability to play the good host was an

important part of keeping good relations with the local gentry.¹³ But in addition to their spiritual and social duties, the bishops were expected to 'play their part in ruling the shires as magistrates and royal commissioners, and attend Parliament and Convocation'¹⁴ - Welsh bishops possibly to attend the Council of the Marches as well. Under James I, bishops became more involved in politics than under Elizabeth, not less, though the difficulties became obvious of trying to combine a great office or state or an ambassadorial role with the expectation of being a resident pastor.¹⁵ The bishop had to manage all these different demands even though he might be, and usually was, under considerable financial pressure - trying to get the best returns from endowments while coping with demands to make favourable grants of land to the Crown, courtiers, and sometimes local dignitaries as well. Even occupants of the richer bishoprics like Ely and Winchester felt themselves under such pressure.¹⁶ Some, but not all, Welsh bishops were under a particular financial pinch.¹⁷ Laud was right to urge his fellow bishops to be good estate managers.¹⁸

One of Queen Elizabeth's greatest services to Wales was that she 'gave her people in the Principality....native bishops in touch with their flocks'.¹⁹ The wisdom of such a policy may seem self-obvious, but despite a few Welshmen appointed by her predecessors,²⁰ they had been the exception rather than the rule. Towards the end of her reign, Elizabeth appointed three Englishmen to bishoprics in South Wales - Babington (1591) and Godwin (1601) at Llandaff, and Rudd (1594) at St David's. Hugh Bellot at Bangor (1586) was a native of Cheshire, but was a Welsh speaker. Otherwise, all Elizabeth I's appointees in Wales were Welshmen - a policy continued in North Wales by her two successors, though South Wales had to wait until 1640 for its next native Welsh bishop. The ability of bishops to integrate into Welsh society, and their willingness or otherwise to reside in their dioceses, would be important factors in the effectiveness of their ministry, though the personality of the bishop might prove more significant than Welsh blood and breeding - or lack of it.

Anthony Kitchin had been Bishop of Llandaff since 1545. He has gone down in history with a poor reputation - a 'greedy old man' determined to hold on to his diocese through thick and thin but who 'wastefully reduced it from one of the wealthiest (sic) to one of the poorest sees.'²¹ It is true that he voted against the Elizabethan settlement in the House of Lords and then promptly took the Oath of Supremacy. But his

attitude to the Reformation was ambivalent. In 1528 he had been implicated in the traffic in Protestant books, and was said to be sympathetic towards reforming doctrines.²² Alone among Mary's bishops, he did not apply to the Pope to be absolved from schism. A Cardiff fisherman, Rawlins White, was burnt for heresy, but Bishop Kitchin tried hard to save him; on the other hand, he was one of the commissioners who brought Bishop Hooper of Gloucester to trial. The diocese was despoiled under Edward VI, not by the Bishop himself, but by the Royal Commissioners on the Chantries (1548) and Church Goods (1552 - 3); the bishopric itself, never very well endowed, was impoverished by Bishop Kitchin leasing land 'at the accustomed rent only' when, at a time of inflation, the real value of such rents was falling rapidly; in 1553, he granted away the valuable manor of Llandaff to Sir George Matthew.²³ Certainly, Bishop Kitchin's 18-year tenure of the see left problems over finance with which his successors were struggling well into the next century. But on the positive side, he resided throughout his time at Mathern Palace, administered his diocese from there, and apparently got to know it well - he was able to make a full return to Archbishop Parker of parishes and clergy within three weeks. His returns in 1561 and 1563 showed that some things were improving - the number of parochial clergy increased, non-residence was in decline, pluralists were employing proper curates. Whatever his shortcomings, he was useful to Elizabeth as a symbol of the continuity of the Church with the old order. The new Queen intended originally to use him in the commission to consecrate Archbishop Parker, though in the event she mustered a team of four bishops (Barlow, Scory, Hodgson and Coverdale) without him. If his theological position could be identified, he was probably a Henrician, willing to dispense with the Pope and the monasteries, reluctant to accept some of the doctrinal changes, though not to the point of resignation. His adverse reputation may derive at least in part from the writings of the antiquarian Rice Merrick, penned fifteen years after his death, in 1578, and from the unfortunate Nag's Head Fable.²⁴

The vacancies in the other Welsh sees were quickly filled. On 6 December 1559, Thomas Young was elected Bishop of St David's. Born at Hodgeston in Pembrokeshire in 1507, Young was educated at Broadgates Hall, Oxford, of which he became Principal in 1542. He held a number of livings in the diocese of St David's - Vicar of Llanfihangel Castle Walter (1541), Rector of Hodgeston (1542) and

Precentor of St David's (1542). He probably only became resident in the diocese in 1547, resigning from Broadgates Hall the previous year. He also sat in Convocation in 1542. He and other canons became involved in an unedifying dispute with the reforming Bishop Ferrar in 1548 - 9.²⁵ At Mary's accession, Young ^{declared} / his adherence to Edward VI's reformation, resigned his preferments and fled to Germany, where he lived in obscurity.²⁶ Young resumed his former office in 1559, becoming also Rector of Nash with Upton, Prebendary of Trallwng in the College of Abergwili and of Caron in the College of Llanddew Brefi. He was an obvious choice as Bishop of St David's. A native of the diocese with a good academic career behind him, he had shown his commitment to the Reformation, but had sided with the more conservative party among the Marian exiles. He was allowed to hold the precentorship, rectory of Hodgeston, prebend of Trallwng and a canonry of St David's to supplement his meagre income. His friendship with Lord Robert Dudley (later Earl of Leicester) enabled him to recover the temporalities of the see on 23 March 1560. But that friendship, and the approval of Archbishop Parker, were probably responsible for his rapid translation from St David's to York. He was elected Archbishop of York on 27 January 1561, less than fifteen months after his promotion to St David's. He was active in promoting the Reformation in the diocese and province of York. He was without doubt a man of great ability, though in the words of Harrington not without a 'drossie and unworthy part.' He served Wales only a short time as a bishop, but he was one of several Welsh churchmen of that age who rose to high office in England. In 1566, he was allowed a suffragan (Richard Barnes) on account of his age, which suggests that he was already ^eaging before 60. He died on 26 June 1568 aged only 60 - 61.²⁷

Rowland Meyrick was appointed to the vacant see of Bangor in 1559. Like his predecessors, Bulkeley and Glynn, he was a native of the diocese, his family being gentry of Bodorgan in Anglesey. His mother's father was Rector of Aberffraw. Meyrick was educated at St Edward's Hall, Oxford, becoming a Bachelor of Civil Law in 1531 and a Doctor in 1538, and Principal of New Inn Hall 1534 - 6. In 1541 he became Rector of Eglwysail and Precentor of Llanddewi Brefi. His next appointments were in England, as Vicar of Stoke-by-Nayland, Suffolk (1544) and Chancellor of

Wells (1547) but in 1550 he became Chancellor of St David's. He too, with Young and the registrar Constantine, was involved in the dispute with Bishop Ferrar over the disposal of cathedral plate. . Bishop Ferrar died a martyr for the Protestant faith, and it is good to note that Young and Constantine made their peace with him before he died ;

; apparently Meyrick did not. In 1554, after Mary's accession, Meyrick married Catherine Barret of Gellyswick and Hasguard in Pembrokeshire, a move which led to his deprivation. He was consecrated Bishop of Bangor in December 1559. In 1560 he received a commission from Archbishop Parker to visit the diocese, and in 1561 he ordained five priests and five readers for the diocese while in London, which suggests some concern to fill up vacant livings. Meyrick supplemented the poverty of the bishopric by retaining the precentorship of Llanddewi Brefi, the prebend of Llanddewi Velfry and that of Treflydn in St David's Cathedral, to which in 1562 he added the rectory of Llanbedrog.²⁸ Meyrick is, nevertheless, accused of despoiling the diocese for his own gain.²⁹ As with Kitchen at Llandaff, this means the granting of leases favourable to himself, but disadvantageous to his successors, to make ends meet. It was an expedient to which many bishops were driven by the improverishment of the Church. John Scory, Bishop of Hereford (whose diocese took in the fringes of Wales) was guilty of the same offence,³⁰ as was Thomas Young at York.³¹ Meyrick died in 1566, and in seven years had done little to solve the problems of his diocese. He was buried in Bangor Cathedral and a brass effigy was placed on his grave.³²

The third of Elizabeth's original appointments was Richard Davies, as Bishop of St Asaph. Like Young and Meyrick, he came from minor Welsh gentry stock, and like Meyrick, he had clerical blood in his veins, being the son of Dafydd ap Gronw, Curate of Gyffin in Caernarfonshire. It is at least possible that the commitment of Davies and Meyrick to the Reformation was sharpened by the realisation that under the old dispensation, Davies himself and Meyrick's mother were legally bastards, though the Welsh gentry before the Reformation evidently thought it acceptable for their daughters to be the 'wives' (or concubines) of priests. Davies may have received his early education from the monks of Aberconwy, with which Gyffin had close ties. He continued his education at New Inn Hall, Oxford, becoming a B.D. in 1536. He held the livings of Maidsmorton (1549) and Burnham (1550) in Buckinghamshire under Edward VI and married Dorothy Woodforde, one of his parishioners at Burnham. He

was deprived of his livings at the beginning of Mary's reign, before the drive against married clergy set in, suggesting that his Protestant views were well known.³³ He went into exile - according to Sir John Wynn, first at Geneva, though there is no corroboration of this; from 1555 he was at Frankfurt. The famous controversy between Richard Cox and John Knox was over before he arrived, but he was caught up in the later controversy between Horne and Hales in 1557, in which he supported Horne's more conservative line. On the accession of Elizabeth, he recovered his livings in Buckinghamshire, and then was elected to the vacant see of St Asaph on 4 December 1559. Glanmor Williams has suggested that his contacts with the exiles under Mary may have brought him to the notice of Cecil - before Mary's reign, he had been only a parish priest.³⁴

Richard Davies' tenure of St Asaph was too short for him to make any lasting impact. On 21 March 1561 he was elected to succeed Thomas Young at St David's. It is thought, however, that in his short time at St Asaph he formed a friendship with William Salesbury of Llansannan which was to bear fruit in the work to translate the Bible into Welsh.³⁵

Davies was Bishop of St David's for twenty years. This long oversight of the largest diocese in Wales presented him with the opportunity - and the challenge - of putting his Protestant convictions into practice. It was a formidable task. There were over 300 livings in the diocese, 94 of which were valued at under £5 p.a. Although many were undoubtedly worth more, there is no doubt about the poverty of many of the clergy. This affected not only remote rural parishes, but important towns such as Carmarthen and Llanstephan.³⁶ In 1570, there were only ten preachers in the diocese, including the Bishop himself; in 1583, two years after his death, there were still only fourteen.³⁷ It is not surprising that in 1567, Davies pleaded for the appointment of bishops who 'by preaching the word of God and living according to the same' might 'set forth the glory of God and show light in these places of extreme darkness.'³⁸ Nor is it to be wondered at that, like Archbishop Grindal, he felt sympathetic towards the Puritan 'prophesyings'; however much they may have been taken over later by a radical party in the Church, their value in encouraging preaching was manifest.³⁹ Davies was linked with Grindal in the popular imagination as belonging to the party of moderate, establishment Puritanism; Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* glorified Grindal

as the 'good shepherd' Algrind, and Davies as his associate 'Diggon Davie.' The poen was published in 1579 when Grindal was already in disgrace with the Queen. Davies, however, escaped her censures; Puritanism had scarcely penetrated his diocese.

His problems lay more with ignorance, superstition and the survival of Romanism. There had been no mass expulsion of clergy in 1559 from St David's or from anywhere else. If there had been there would have been an even more dire shortage of ordinands, particularly graduates, to replace them. Davies had to do the best he could with the clergy he had, seeking patiently to foster the principles of the Reformation, improving the quality of the clergy and the frequency of preaching. At the same time, he had to protect the Church from further despoiling at the hands of the gentry.⁴⁰ One area where he had very limited success was in fostering the corporate life of the cathedral. But with the Treasurer and Archdeacons seldom resident, Davies hardly helped by appointing 'youths of incomplete education'⁴¹ to prebendal stalls. He was following a practice common in the Middle Ages of conferring a sinecure on a promising young man to assist him to complete his studies in the hope that he would return and enrich the diocese with his learning. With the shortage of graduate clergy and competent preachers, such a policy had its merits, and must be judged by its results, which will be discussed later. It is unfortunate that the youths in question should have included his own sons. But nepotism, pluralism and exploitation of the Church's resources have to be seen in the context of the poverty of the Welsh sees. It was without question fortunate that men of Richard Davies' calibre were prepared to work away patiently for twenty years in a remote and poorly-paid bishopric.

Bishop Davies made one of his most important contributions to the life of the Welsh Church by helping to steer through Parliament the bill to translate the Bible and Prayer Book into Welsh (1563), and, through his association with William Salesbury, to make an important contribution to the undertaking. His work as a translator will be discussed in Chapter 8. * But in his celebrated *Epistol at y Cembru* (Letter to the Welsh People) which prefaced Salesbury's New Testament, Davies made an important contribution to the philosophy of the Anglican Church and one, moreover, which was written in the Welsh language: that the Reformed Church of England marked a return, not so much to Apostolic Christianity, as to the primitive simplicity and purity of the

* infra, pp.332ff.

early Church before the arrival of corrupting influences from Rome. This hypothesis was by no means his own invention, and had been held at an earlier date by William Salesbury. In a letter to Archbishop Parker (19 March 1566), Davies refers to an anonymous chronicle which stated that the Britons had lived on terms of hospitality with the pagan Saxons, but when the latter 'became Christians in such sort as Austen had taught them' the Britons would neither eat nor drink with them 'because they corrupted with superstition, images and idolatry, the true religion of Christ which the Britons had preserved pure among them from the time of King Lucius.'⁴² Davies laid more emphasis on the ancient Celtic Church, but his philosophy accorded well with Parker's love for Anglo-Saxon antiquities. As a philosophy of Church History, it was perfected by Fuller. Davies' contribution to learning included a part in founding Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School, Carmarthen (1576) - one of a number of new or re-foundations of schools in Wales in this period.⁴³

Richard Davies' work as Bishop of St David's was matched by that of Bishop Robinson at Bangor. Despite his English-sounding name, Nicholas Robinson was born at Conwy. Four generations earlier, his family had come from Speke in Lancashire, and were not untypical of many English families who moved into Wales in the late Middle Ages, particularly into the towns. The family, who changed their name from Morris to Robins and then Robinson, intermarried with the Salesburys and the Wynns of Gwydir. Robinson himself married Jane Brereton of Maelor, descended on her mother's side from the Griffiths of Penrhyn. The family was, therefore, well assimilated to the Welsh gentry, and produced a number of clerics in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Nicholas Robinson was born about 1530. His early education is unknown - quite likely he was taught by a learned clergyman; he would have been too young to have gone to school with the monks of Aberconwy, whose house was dissolved in 1536. He became a sizar at Queens' College, Cambridge, in 1545. At the time, William Glynn of Heneglwys was President of Queens', who gathered round him a circle of promising young Welshmen - Thomas Davies, Thomas Yale, Humphrey Toye and William Hughes among them. Robinson became a fellow of Queens' in 1549, B.D. in 1560 and D.D. in 1566. William Glynn, who became Bishop of Bangor in 1555, ordained Robinson in 1557. Glynn adapted himself to the religious changes under Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary, but died before his loyalties could be put to

the test again under Elizabeth. He had disputed with Cranmer, Latimer and Ridley at Oxford in 1554 which suggests firm commitment to the Catholic side; Robinson was, technically, a Marian priest.

In a sermon at St Paul's Cross in 1564, Robinson deplored those among the clergy and laity who made an outward show of religion for 'fashion's' sake without any inner conviction - something which was perhaps common enough in that age of frequent religious change. Sir John Wynn of Gwydir said that Robinson preached well 'when he did it without premeditation ... but upon meditation ... not so well.'⁴⁴ In 1559, only two years after his ordination, Archbishop Parker made him his chaplain and licensed him to preach throughout the Province of Canterbury. In 1561, he was made Rector of Shepperton, Middlesex, in 1562 sinecure Rector of Northop and Archdeacon of Merioneth. The diocese of Bangor was left vacant a year after Bishop Meyrick's death until Robinson was appointed in October 1566. Parker had doubts about appointing a Welshman to this most Welsh of dioceses.

Some wise men partly of the same country ...wish no Welshman in Bangor.

They band so much together in kindred, that the bishop can do not as much as ~~he~~would wish for his alliance sake.

It has to be said that the history of the diocese in the next seventy years bears out the truth of Parker's remarks. * He considered putting forward Herle, Warden of Manchester College, as a candidate for the bishopric.⁴⁵

Ellis Price and Thomas Huet were also considered as candidates. Robinson found much the same problems as Davies at St David's. In 1583, when he had been in the diocese for seventeen years, there were only four preachers apart from himself, with 'few divines skilled in Welsh' and no special provision of stipends to reward them. The inappropriate churches were 'very evil served and not able to maintain a curate continually.' Nevertheless, no church in the diocese 'wanteth utterly a curate', and a year after his appointment (October 1567) Robinson reported that his diocese was in good order - i.e. that there was no nonconformity, and very little recusancy; in 1583, an aged priest, Humphrey Barker ('a very poor man') and John Holland of Ruthin were reputed to be the only non-communicants in the diocese. Even so, in 1567, Robinson reported that the people were 'very ignorant, and that the use of images, altars, pilgrimages and vigils were (sic) very prevalent among them.' The same kind

* infra, pp.67-71.

of complaint was being heard from Welsh bishops fifty or more years later. Despite Richard Davies' Protestant zeal, Marmaduke Middleton, who succeeded him at St David's, found it necessary to forbid the elevation of the Host and other such ceremonies.⁴⁶ Bishop Glynn and Bishop Robinson, whatever their deepest convictions, had both in their time crossed the line between Catholicism and Protestantism. In 1582, Robinson found it necessary to write to the Earl of Leicester and Sir Francis Walsingham, defending himself against an accusation of popery, or at least sympathy towards the papists. His defence was that he preached every Sunday, which evidently passed as the hall-mark of a good Protestant. On one occasion, he took part in a discussion on a Saxon homily on the Pascal Lamb, later published by John Day - a subject into which a doctrine of Eucharistic sacrifice could easily be read. Robinson also translated Gruffydd ap Cynan's *vita* from Welsh into Latin - proof, if it were needed, of his proficiency in Welsh. Like Davies, he had little success in fostering the life of the cathedral. In 1580, he described the chapter as 'mostly non-resident and far apart.' But it is greatly to his credit that he resided at Bangor throughout his time as bishop - something almost unknown before the Reformation. He was buried in the cathedral and left bequests to various churches.

Richard Davies was succeeded at St Asaph in 1561 by Thomas Davies. Born either in 1512 or 1515, Thomas was the son of Dafydd ap Robert of Caerhun, a descendant of Ednyfed Fychan. He was educated at Oxford and soon after graduating, was appointed to sinecures in Bangor and St Asaph. In 1537, he moved to Cambridge, taking his LL.D. at St John's College in 1548 and later, as has been seen, became one of Glynn's circle at Queens'. In 1546 he became Chancellor of Bangor, and kept this and his other appointments under Queen Mary. On the death of Bishop Glynn, Cardinal Pole made him custos of the diocese of Bangor, in which capacity he made several appointments before the consecration of Bishop Meyrick. In 1558 he was made Archdeacon of St Asaph and in 1561 Bishop. William Llŷn hailed him as 'Cymro o waed Cywir' (A Welshman of true blood.) Thomas Davies was an administrator rather than a theologian, and he set about his task with vigour. He made sixteen appointments in his first year, and the rest seem to have been clustered in 1564, 1566 and 1570.⁴⁷ Most of the men he appointed were Welsh and men of learning. Although he was *ex officio* one of the bishops to whom the task of seeing the Bible

translated into Welsh was entrusted, he is not known to have made any personal contribution. But at a diocesan council or synod in November 1561, he made provision for reading the catechism, epistle and gospel in Welsh, and also educating the children of the diocese, improving the education of non-graduate clergy, and removing 'feigned relics and other superstitions.'⁴⁸ In 1570, he claimed to have reduced his diocese to good order, though he would have liked Cecil to appoint a commission further to enforce his authority. When he was appointed bishop, he resigned his sinecures at the request of Archbishop Parker, but because of the poverty of the see was allowed to retain Llanbedr, Caerhun and a portion of Llandinam. Like Kitchin and Meyrick, he seems to have made improvident grants of leases, but although accused (like Richard Davies) of nepotism, no actual incidence is known.

His daughter Katherine married William Holland of Abergele, strengthening his ties with the gentry. One of his contributions to the wider life of the Church was to help in drawing up the 39 Articles. He helped education by bequests to Queens' College, Cambridge and the Friars School, Bangor. He died on 14 October 1573 and was buried at Abergele. He was, like Bishop Robinson, a survivor from Mary's reign, but in his twelve years at St Asaph had done something to promote the Reformation by improving the education of the clergy and encouraging the use of Welsh.

William Hughes, who succeeded Thomas Davies, held St Asaph for twenty-seven years. He, too, was a native of Caernarfonshire, the son of Hugh ap Cynric, a descendant of one of the fifteen tribes of Gwynedd, and Gwenllian, daughter of John Fychan. Hughes himself married Lucy, daughter of Robert Knowesley of Denbighshire; their daughter Anne, married Thomas, youngest son of Sir Thomas Mostyn. Thus, both by descent and marriage alliances, Hughes was well connected with the Welsh gentry. He is said to have studied at Oxford before matriculating at Christ's College, Cambridge in November 1554, becoming a fellow in 1557, B.D. in 1563 and Lady Margaret preacher. He was incorporated at Oxford in 1568 and became a D.D. in 1570. About 1580 he became chaplain to Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk. In 1565, he was considered as a candidate for the vacant see of Llandaff, but Richard Davies, whose judgement was highly regarded by the Council, wrote that he was 'utterly unlearned in divinity, and not able to render reason for his faith.'⁴⁹ This seems a hard verdict on an Oxford D.D. Davies may have meant that, in his

opinion, Hughes was unsound in orthodox Protestantism. This is suggested by a sermon which Hughes preached at Leicester in 1567 in which he questioned Christ's going down to Hell.⁵⁰ But though Hughes failed to secure Llandaff in 1565, he was made Rector of Dennington in Suffolk in 1567, which he held until his elevation, and Llysfaen, Denbighshire, which he held until his death. In 1573 he was promoted Bishop of St Asaph.

Bishop Hughes' reputation has been 'handed down tarnished with the charge of gross pluralism and extortion.'⁵¹ To a large extent, this is attributable to a single document *The Discoverie of the present estate of the Bishopricke of St Asaph*.⁵² This is dated 24 February 1587,⁵³ about half-way through Hughes' long tenure of office. Its official standing is established by the endorsement of Lord Treasurer Burghley.⁵⁴ Its exact origin is unknown: Hughes was a protégé of the Earl of Leicester, and is said to have owed his elevation to his influence.⁵⁵ Leicester had made enemies among the gentry of North Wales,⁵⁶ and it is possible that some of them in alliance with his rivals at Court, were trying to attack him through Bishop Hughes.

The Bishop was accused in this document of many things. Some, such as selling livings in his gift, and leasing lands on favourable terms to his relatives, belong to the secular side of his administration, and lie outside the scope of this study - though the former, if true, would constitute simony, and would be a serious blemish on his character. The main charges affecting the clergy are that:

- (1) he held sixteen rich livings in *commendam*:
 - (2) most of the great livings were held by clergy non-resident in the diocese:
- and

- (3) only three preachers resided on their livings.

This document was accepted at face value by Strype,⁵⁷ and by the distinguished Congregationalist historian, Thomas Rees, in his *History of Nonconformity in Wales*.⁵⁸ In both the Anglican and Free Church tradition, therefore, the charges against Hughes have tended to be taken as read. But Archdeacon Thomas wrote, with well-advised caution, 'I cannot help thinking that in this case there has been a considerable misapprehension of facts and a harder sentence passed than the circumstances really warrant.'⁵⁹ More recently, J Gwynfor Jones has stated that the exaggeration of the value of livings held by Hughes is difficult to explain except to aggravate 'beyond

recognition' the abuses of which he was guilty.⁶⁰ Hughes did indeed hold sixteen livings, nine cures and seven sinecures, in addition to the bishopric and archdeaconry, but he did not hold them all at the same time; only the rectories of Llysfaen and Castle Caereinion were in his hands throughout his time as bishop.⁶¹ Two other observations seem not to have been made in the past. The first is that two of his richest benefices he held for only short periods - Gresford for two years, Meifod for one - so that it was not a simple case of greed. He handed over both to doctors of divinity - Gresford to Hugh Bellot (later Bishop of Bangor), and Meifod to David Powell, the distinguished historian. They were, perhaps, cases of 'keeping the seat warm'. It also seems not to have been observed that Bishop Hughes tended to hold livings in geographical clusters:- Llysfaen, Abergele and Cwm were all in the vicinity of St Asaph; Castle Caereinion, Llandrinio and Meifod were all near Welshpool; Llanycil, Llanfawr and Llandrillo were in the country beyond Corwen. This clustering can hardly have been coincidental. Hughes probably entrusted the cure of souls to a curate, and he is reputed to have paid his curates miserably. The clustering suggests that a group of parishes, perhaps each carrying a small stipend, was entrusted to the same clergyman. It is also possible that the Bishop took a real interest in his livings, perhaps going round on pastoral visits and preaching tours; if so, it would have been greatly to his credit at a time when preaching, particularly in Welsh, was in short supply.

Whether there were really only three resident preachers in the diocese (apart from the Bishop himself) seems impossible to verify, but difficult to believe. In 1587, there were, almost certainly, at least twenty-six graduate clergy in the diocese; indeed, St Asaph was well on the way to the forty-one preachers, thirty-six of them graduates, noted by Archbishop Whitgift in 1603,⁶² a couple of years after Hughes' death. Since many well-qualified clergy held more than one benefice, it is likely that many of the twenty-six graduates did not reside in at least one of their livings. But the ideal that all incumbents should preach, and all preachers become pastors, lay in the future; in Elizabethan times, the aim was to see that parishes had a sermon at least once a quarter, often achieved by the few competent preachers going on tour of neighbouring parishes. One of the three resident preachers acknowledged by the *Discoverie* was William Morgan, whom Bishop Hughes appointed to Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochant. By encouraging Morgan with moral support and by lending him books, Hughes probably

made the best contribution he could, in the long run, to the encouragement of preaching.

There is truth in the charge that many of the best livings in the diocese were held by non-residents. But scrutiny of the clergy concerned shows this to have been less than scandalous. Two prebends and one sinecure rectory held by church lawyers meant keeping in with the legal powers-that-be; one of the three, Henry Jones (Rector of Llanrwst) had in fact been appointed in 1554 in Queen Mary's time. Another sinecure rector, Edmund Meyrick, of Corwen, had been appointed in 1560 under Bishop Richard Davies. Richard Rogers (Rector of Llanarmon-yn-Iâl) was Archdeacon of St Asaph between 1562 and 1566; John Bagshaw, Rector of Whittington, resided on his prebend at Lichfield, but he held three livings in St Asaph at one time or another, as well as one in Derbyshire. Most of the non-residents were, in fact, in adjacent dioceses - Bangor, Chester or Lichfield - which suggests a degree of working together among neighbouring bishops. William Tomson, Rector of Cilcain, said rather mysteriously to have been 'dwelling about London' ⁶³ is the only one for whom no adequate reason is known why he should have had a plum benefice in the diocese. It has to be said that Bishop Hughes in fact refused to institute John Bagshaw to Whitford because he did not understand Welsh and the parishioners were 'homines Wallici, Wallicam loquentes et non aliam.'⁶⁴ One accusation against Bishop Hughes does carry weight - that the practice of keeping hospitality had declined among the better-paid clergy.⁶⁵ But William Hughes has received less than his due from historians. He deserves credit particularly for attracting a body of well-qualified men to serve in the diocese. But one recent historian is more generous to Hughes and his predecessor, Thomas Davies: 'Davies' work ... was characterised by the energy with which he carried out the needs of the new establishment, and Hughes, pluralist though he was, held forth for the reformed doctrine in his see for over a quarter of a century... The benefits which they offered ...far outweighed their weaknesses...' ⁶⁶ It may be noted that St Asaph had the fewest inappropriate livings (19) of the Welsh dioceses, though this was a situation which Bishop Hughes simply inherited. St Asaph, moreover, returned a relatively high number of recusants - 250 in 1603, behind Llandaff (381) but ahead of St David's (145) and Bangor (32.) ⁶⁷

Hugh Jones, who succeeded Anthony Kitchen at Llandaff, but only after a vacancy of

four years, in 1567, had a relatively short tenure of office till his death in 1574, and seems to have left least impression of the Elizabethan Welsh bishops: he alone has no article in either the *Dictionary of National Biography* or the *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*. He has the distinction of being the first Welshman to be Bishop of Llandaff for 300 years.⁶⁸ He took the degree of Bachelor of Civil Law at Oxford in 1541, and was Vicar of Banwell, Somerset in 1556, so that he too was a survivor of Queen Mary's reign. In 1561 he was Prebendary of Baschurch and Rector of Tredunnoc. He also held the vicarage of Cornwood, Devon from 1572 (no doubt to supplement the poor remuneration of his see) but he probably resided at Mathern, where he was buried, dying on 15 November 1574 aged 66.⁶⁹ J.A.Bradney chides him for doing nothing to repair the damage done by Bishop Kitchen in leasing out Episcopal lands at low rents⁷⁰ - perhaps in seven years he had little opportunity as few leases would have fallen inⁱⁿ that time. To his credit, however, he travelled throughout the diocese, and is said to have impoverished himself to provide preachers - his widow begged the Privy Council to allow her to remain at Mathern during the Interregnum.⁷¹

A more significant episode in the history of the diocese came with the next Bishop of Llandaff, William Blethin (1575 - 90). Blethin was a 'Welsh-speaking Welshman'⁷² born at Shirenewton Court, Monmouthshire, the family seat of his father, a descendant of Sir Howel ap Iowerth (d.1175) and of Hywel Dda. He was a kinsman of Morgan Blethin, Abbot of Llantarnam in 1532. William Blethin was, therefore, well connected with both the gentry and higher clergy. He was educated at either Broadgates Hall or New Inn Hall, Oxford, and married Anne, daughter of Robert Young and niece of Bishop Thomas Young. While studying at Oxford he was made Rector of Sunningwell, Berks. (1559) and Roggiett (1560 - becoming resident there only in 1569). He became B.C.L. in 1562, and was given prebends of Llandaff (St Dubritius) and York Minster (Osbaldkirk) - the latter probably through the influence of Archbishop Young. In 1570 or 1575 he became Archdeacon of Brecon and in 1575 Bishop of Llandaff. This marks a steady rise up the ecclesiastical ladder from the time of Elizabeth I's settlement; his own ability and his family influence no doubt both playing their part. Because of the poverty of the see, he was allowed to retain his livings in England. He is described in the *Dictionary of National Biography* as a 'strong administrator, a stern disciplinarian and a fierce adversary of recusancy' -

though his native county of Monmouth was the chief stronghold of Roman Catholicism in Wales, due to the influence of the Earl of Worcester at Raglan Castle.

One of Bishop Blethin's major achievements was to draw up statutes for Llandaff Cathedral, defining the status of the bishops, the residence and duties of the canons and vicars choral. It was part of a serious attempt to revive the work and life of the Cathedral, which had sunk into a sorry state - the building was in disrepair, there was no proper provision for pastoral care, books (including valuable records), golden vessels and vestments had been lost, clergy houses had been turned into stables and pig-styes.⁷³ Blethin was at least attempting to reverse the neglect of the pre-Reformation and material damage of the Reformation periods. He rebuked the Chapter for their unwise leasing of property, but this was a case of the pot calling the kettle black. Of all the Welsh dioceses, Llandaff suffered worst from inappropriate livings (101 out of 192) and disadvantageous leases of Church land.⁷⁴ Blethin could do little to remedy the situation; indeed, Madeleine Gray accused him of leasing Church property to his sons and nephews as 'a system of outdoor relief.'⁷⁵ In view of what has been said earlier about Richard Davies, this is perhaps unfair, but Bishop Blethin did promote his family to become part of a clerical aristocracy in the diocese, a kind of Tudor version of the Grantleys of Barchester. William Blethin was Bishop of Llandaff for fifteen out of the forty-five years of Elizabeth I's reign, more than twice the term of any other bishop of the diocese (excluding Bishop Kitchin.) Though credit must also go to his successors, Babington and Morgan, it is of note that by 1603 Llandaff, with all its inappropriate livings and poor endowments, had acquired fifty preachers, twenty-nine M.A.s one D.D. and one B.D. among them.⁷⁶ The patient service of its bishops had at least borne some fruit.

The bishops covered in this section extend from three appointed in the first year of her reign (Richard Davies, Meyrick and Young) to one who died nearly forty years later (William Hughes.) That is a measure of how long it took the Queen to carry through her religious settlement. Those appointed in Wales in the first half of her reign make up an interesting cross-section of churchmanship. Richard Davies and Thomas Young were returned exiles. Rowland Meyrick had been out of office and lying low under Queen Mary, while Anthony Kitchin, Thomas Davies and Nicholas Robinson served under her as bishop or priest. The Welsh bishops in this respect differed little from

their English counterparts, and between them they represent that compromise (or symbiosis) between non-papal Catholicism and moderate Protestantism that Dickens saw as one of the hall-marks of the Church of England.⁷⁷

The years 1559 - 83 were a time when the main concern was to get the Elizabethan Settlement working. In England, tension existed from the start between the more zealous Protestant leaders and the Queen herself, determined to go no further than she had agreed in 1559.⁷⁸ Among the parish clergy, Puritanism had already emerged in the 1560s - the vestiarian controversy, followed more seriously in the 1570s, by the *Admonitions to Parliament*⁷⁹ and the call for further reform on Genevan lines. There is a lack of evidence as to whether the vestiarian controversy had echoes in Wales, but the circumstances which fostered Puritanism in parts of England at this time scarcely existed in the Principality.⁸⁰ But it should not be overlooked that at least one serious - and radical - critic of the Elizabethan Church had emerged from (rather than in) Wales at this time : John Penry.⁸¹ But while dealing with, or responding to , Puritanism, the Church was also on the move to eradicate surviving 'popish' practices - rosaries, pilgrimages and secret mutterings of the Mass, as well as outward and visible signs like rood-screens, images and stone altars. Here the evidence is of situations common to England and Wales,⁸² with Wales accounted one of the more 'backward' parts of the realm.

Much of the key to Church policy in these years lies in the Book of Common Prayer. In England, it was a question of enforcing the Book as interpreted by the royal injunctions.⁸³ In Wales, the great achievement of these years was putting the same Book of Common Prayer into the language of the people. Only when that had been accomplished, and still more, when it was followed by the translation of the whole of the Scriptures, would it be possible to foster in Wales a spirituality in keeping with the ideals of the Reformation.

Notes

1. Glanmor Williams, WR, p.217. An exact number would be misleading as Cardinal Pole died very shortly after Queen Mary. Tensions with Rome at the end of Mary's reign had made the task of replacement difficult.
2. *ibid.*, pp.219 - 23.
3. *ibid.* p.222. Estimates vary for the total number of clergy deprived in 1559 and soon after - a total of 200 - 300 out of 8,000 is possible. - J.B.Black, *The Reign of Elizabeth, 1558 - 1603* (Oxford 1936), p.17. The numbers in Wales and the Marches may be compared with those in the diocese of Durham, 1559 - 64:- the dean, five prebendaries and twelve or thirteen beneficed clergy. - B.N.Wilson, *The changes of the reformation period in Durham and Northumberland* (Durham PhD.thesis, 1939) p.556.
4. W.J.Sheils, *The Puritans in the Diocese of Peterborough, 1558 - 1600* (Northampton, 1979), pp.21 - 4. Whereas there may have been little outward enthusiasm for Protestantism in the diocese at the beginning of the reign, it soon developed in industrial centres such as Kettering. D.C.Chalmers, *Puritanism in Leicestershire 1558 - 1633* (Leeds Univ. M.A.thesis, 1962) pp.29 ff. traces the development of Puritanism at Ashby-de-la-Zouch and Leicester.
5. Wilson, *op.cit.*, p.160.
6. R.C.Richardson, *Puritanism in North-West England : a Regional Study of the Diocese of Chester to 1642* (Manchester 1972) pp. 8 - 9, 177.
7. *ibid.*, pp.3 - 4. G.H.Jenkins 'Popular beliefs in Wales from the Restoration to Methodism' (*BBCS* XXVII 1977), pp.441 ff., gives a valuable survey of superstition in Wales. As he observes (p.450) the disappearance of Catholicism left many folk feeling more vulnerable to (possibly hostile) supernatural forces.
8. The point has been made by a number of historians, e.g. Glanmor Williams, 'The Elizabethan Settlement of Religion in Wales and the Marches, 1559 - 60' (*JHSCW* II, No.5 1950) p.61. For the way the Welsh retained at least the trappings of Catholicism, see J.Strype, *Annals of the Reformation* (Oxford 1824) II, pp.88, 358.
9. E.J.Newell, *Llandaff* (London 1902), p.148. Reports at the beginning of the reign may have played down the existence of recusancy, or the general indifference to the Reformation may have led few to come out openly against the settlement.
10. For Chester, see Richardson, *op.cit.*, p.7. Norwich included the whole counties of Norfolk and Suffolk. Lincoln extended from the Humber at Barton to the Thames at Eton, though (since Henry VIII's time) without Oxfordshire, Northamptonshire, the Soke and Rutland.
11. *Prelate as Pastor : The Episcopate of James I* (Oxford 1990), p.6 *et passim*.
12. *ibid.*, pp.293 - 98.
13. Felicity Heal, 'Archbishop Laud revisited : leases and estate management at Canterbury and Winchester before the Civil War' in *Princes and Paupers in the English Church 1500 - 1800* ed. Rosemary O'Day and Felicity Heal (Leicester 1981), pp.129 ff. Heal notes how Laud, unlike his predecessors, failed to keep

the good-will of the Kentish gentry through hospitality.

14. Fincham, *op. cit.*, pp.296 - 97.
15. John Williams, the last Episcopal Lord Keeper (1621 - 25) is said never to have set foot in his diocese of Lincoln before his dismissal in November 1625. George Carleton resided in London while Bishop of Llandaff, but having shed his quasi-ambassadorial rôle to the Synod of Dort, he resided in his diocese of Chichester. - Fincham, *op.cit.*, p310.
16. Felicity Heal, 'The Tudors and Church lands : Economic Problems of the Bishopric of Ely during the Sixteenth Century' (*Econ. Hist. Review* 2nd Series, Vol.26 1973), pp.204 ff. ; R.A.Christophers *Social and Educational background of the Surrey clergy 1520 - 1620* (London Univ. PhD. thesis 1975), pp.183 ff.
17. Joel Berlatsky surveys the financial problems of the bishops in 'The Elizabethan episcopate : patterns of life and expenditure' in *Princes and Paupers (supra)*, pp.111 ff. He notes that Bishop William Morgan died with goods valued at only £110. 1s. 2d - *ibid* p.117. By contrast, see Bishop Rowlands, *infra* pp. 54-5.
18. Heal, 'Archbishop Laud revisited' (*supra*) p.130. The specific advice was to William Roberts, newly appointed Bishop of Bangor (1637). He apparently heeded Laud's advice. - *ibid* p.131.
19. W.Hughes, *Bangor* (London 1911), p 75.
20. Henry VIII appointed Arthur Bulkeley, a native of Anglesey, as Bishop of Bangor (1542); Queen Mary appointed William Glynn (d.1558) to Bangor (1555) and Henry Morgan to St David's (1554). Morgan was deprived for refusing the Oath of Supremacy in 1559.
21. *DNB* Llandaff's fall was from being relatively poor to very poor.
22. Glanmor Williams, *Glamorgan County History (GCH)* IV, p.213.
23. Newell, *op.cit.*, p.142. For a more favourable interpretation of Bishop Kitchin, see *DWB*.
24. For Rice Merrick, see *DWB*. According to the Nag's Head Fable, Kitchin carried out a parody of a consecration of Archbishop Parker at the Nag's Head Inn. In fact, Parker's consecration was strictly according to canonical form. Dr Madeleine Grey (*JWRH* Vol.ii. 1994) gives grounds for a re-assessment of Bishop Kitchin. See also her article, 'The Cloister and the Hearth' in *JWRH* (Volume 3, 1995). For a less favourable view of Bishop Kitchin, see J.Gwynfor Jones, 'The Reformation Bishops of Llandaff' in *Morganwg*, xxxii 1988.
25. Glanmor Williams, *WR*, p.167. See also Andrew J. Brown, *Robert Ferrar* (London 1997).
26. C.H.Garrett, *The Marian Exiles* (Cambridge 1938) p.348.
27. *DNB*
28. *Ibid*
29. P.M.Dawley, John Whitgift and the *Reformation* (London 1952) p.104.
30. *Ibid* p.102

31. *DNB*
32. Le Neve, *Fasti*; *DNB*
33. Glanmor Williams, *Welsh Reformation Essays (WRE)* (Cardiff, 1967) p.155
34. *Ibid*, p.163
35. *Ibid*
36. *Ibid* p.172
37. *Ibid* p.174
38. *Ibid* p.165
39. Dawley, *op.cit.*, pp.146 - 60. From the beginning of the reign, the Queen and Archbishop Parker had taken steps to improve the education of clergy below the degree of M.A. Originally the responsibility of bishops and archdeacons, these 'exercises' came to be entrusted to the graduate, preaching clergy. They developed into exercises in Bible-study, sermon-practice and criticism. The reasons for the Queen's opposition to 'prophesyings' as they were often known, are not clear. As the preaching clergy at this time were mostly Puritan, they could have become a vehicle for 'puritanising' the whole Church, particularly when they were attended by the godly laity. - D.MacCulloch, *The later Reformation in England, 1547 - 1603* (Basingstoke and London 1990) p.41; Patrick Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants : The Church in English Society, 1559 - 1625* (Oxford 1982) pp.129 - 30. For a detailed account of prophesying at Leicester, see Chalmers, *op.cit.*, pp.45 - 52. There is no evidence of prophesyings taking place in Wales at this time.
40. Glanmor Williams, *WRE*, supra, p.172
41. *Ibid* p.174
42. *Correspondence of Archbishop Parker*, Parker Society (Cambridge 1853) pp.265 - 6
43. Glanmor Williams, *WRE*, supra, p.182
44. cit. A.E. Evans Nicholas Robinson in *Y Cymmrodor* Vol.39 (London 1928) p.161. For other points see *idem* pp. 149 - 99.
45. Parker to Cecil 12 February 1566. *Correspondence of Archbishop Parker*. pp.259 - 60. The suggestion of Herle as Bishop of Bangor is interesting as Manchester College was a centre of Puritan influence. - Richardson, *op.cit.* p8.
46. Glanmor Williams, *WRE*, supra, p.172
47. *DWB*. This 'clustering' of appointments in the 1560s and 1570 is based on the evidence in Vol.II of this study, largely drawn from *DRT*.
48. *DWB*. *DRT* I, p.
49. *DNB*
50. *Ibid*. The issue is thoroughly explored by W.P.Griffith in 'William Hughes and the *Decensus* Controversy of 1567' (*BBCS* XXXIV 1987) pp.185 ff. Hughes preached a 'confused or ambiguous interpretation' which came dangerously near to a belief in Purgatory. The Leicester Puritans, backed by the Earl of Huntingdon,

were furious, but Hughes was supported by the Duke of Norfolk. As Griffith points out, Christ's descent into Hell (or Hades) was a contentious issue among Humanists and Reformers, and Hughes' interpretation of I Peter 3, v.19, differed little from that of Melancthon and Zwingli.

51. DRT I, p.97

52. Lansdowne MS 120, ff. 20

53. *Ibid*

54. John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation and the Establishment of Religion and other various occurrences in the Church of England during Queen Elizabeth's Happy Reign* (Oxford 1824) Vol. III/II, p.686.

55. (Compiled by) Ifan ab Owen Edwards, *A Catalogue of Star Chamber Proceedings relating to Wales* (Cardiff 1929) p.56

56. Barrie Williams, 'The Bulkeleyes of Baron Hill' in *Royal Stuart Review*, Vol.6, No.1 (1986) p.1 - 3

57. *Op cit.* p.686

58. Rees' adverse view of Bishop Hughes is quoted in DRT I, p.99

59. DRT I, p.99

60. J.Gwynfor Jones, 'Thomas Davies and William Hughes: two Reformation Bishops of St Asaph' (*BBCS XXIX*, 1981) p.326

61. DRT I, p.100

62. Harleian MS,280 f.163. Four of the preachers were doctors of divinity. St Asaph in 1603 had a preacher to about every three parishes, a ratio below that of Bangor (41%) but above Llandaff and St David's (both about 28%)

63. Lans. MS. 120. f.22v. Little seems to be known about Tomson otherwise except that he became a B.D. of Oxford in 1588 (*AO*). His sinecure may have been a kind of scholarship to encourage his studies.

64. *DNB*. 'Welsh people, speaking Welsh and nothing else.' Hughes is, however, said to have sent an 'unfit' curate to Llandrinio when the parishioners desired a Welsh speaker.

65. Lans. MS.120, f.23

66. J.Gwynfor Jones *op.cit.* p.331

67. Harley MS.280 ff. 162 - 4

68. J.A.Bradney 'A Speech of William Blethin' in *Y Cymmrodor* Vol.31, 1921 pp.242 ff.

69. *AO*

70. J.A.Bradney, *op.cit.* p.242

71. Dawley, *op.cit.* p.105; Newell, *op.cit.* p.144

72. Bradney, *op.cit.* p.244

73. *Ibid*

74. Harley MS.280 ff. 162 - 4
75. Madeleine Gray, 'The Church in Gwent' in *JWEH*, Vol.2, 1985, pp.7 ff.
76. Harley MS. 280 ff.162 - 4
77. A.G.Dickens, *The English Reformation* (London 1964), pp.179 ff.
78. Collinson explores the relations between Queen Elizabeth and her bishops in the opening chapter of *The Religion of Protestants (supra)*.
79. *ODCC* : Admonition to Parliament. There were, in fact, two *Admonitions*; the first was the work of two London clergymen, John Field (father of Bishop Theophilus Field) and Thomas Wilcox; the second was the work of Thomas Cartwright. The controversy drew in first Whitgift and subsequently Hooker as apologists for the *status quo*.
80. The factors identified by Shiels in Northamptonshire and Chalmers in Leicestershire (q.v. *passim*) are (1) A rapport between a Puritan preacher and a responsive congregation, usually in a town; (2) A Puritan patron with a significant amount of livings in his gift (notably the Earl of Huntingdon); (3) An 'old boy' network of Puritan ministers sufficiently in contact to give mutual support. Something of factor (1) developed in Haverfordwest, Swansea and Wrexham, but only *temp.* Charles I.
81. For Penry, see pp.^{332.}₃₂₉ Dickens, *op.cit.* p.313, describes Penry as one of the 'earlier Separatists.'
82. Glanmor Williams, *WR*. p.223. On Whitgift at Worcester, *see infra*. p.45-6
83. *ODCC* : Parker, Matthew; Black, *op.cit.* pp.155 - 56.

PART 11 : The Age of Archbishop Whitgift *

Matthew Parker, who died in 1575, had faithfully carried out Queen Elizabeth's policies as Archbishop of Canterbury for sixteen years.⁸⁴ There will always be controversy over whether her choice as his successor, Edmund Grindal, was a mistake or a missed opportunity.⁸⁵ Certainly, within a matter of months, Queen and Archbishop had quarrelled over her insistence that the prophesyings should be suppressed. Grindal was suspended from office early in 1577, and, until his death six years later, there was an unfortunate hiatus of authority at the centre of Church affairs. It is not entirely clear whether he fell from favour simply because he was too sympathetic towards the Puritans, or because he dared to take a line independent of the Queen.⁸⁶ In his replacement, however, she found a primate more after her own heart. John Whitgift was a prominent figure in the Elizabethan Church from the 1560s when he was a don at Cambridge. Originally with some sympathy for the 'precisions' who objected to wearing the surplice and cap, Whitgift moved steadily in the direction of order and discipline, and, as he rose in the hierarchy, became the chief champion of the Elizabethan settlement.⁸⁷ In 1577, he was promoted Bishop of Worcester, an office which brought him into close contact with the four Welsh dioceses, not least through his work on the Council of the Marches. There has been speculation as to when Whitgift first got to know William Morgan, whether it was when they were both still at Cambridge, or whether it was Morgan's unfortunate quarrel with some of his parishioners at Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant that brought him to Whitgift's attention.⁸⁸ Whichever it was, Whitgift became a firm supporter of Morgan's work of translating the Bible.

Whitgift was translated to succeed Grindal at Canterbury in 1584. He is remembered as much as anything as the 'hammer of the Puritans.' Much of his career, at Cambridge and in the episcopate, was taken up with controversy with Thomas Cartwright, who sought to promote a further reformation of the English Church on the model of Beza's Geneva. Whitgift was involved, first as a controversialist, then as an enforcer of discipline. He made the Court of High Commission an effective instrument to break up the *classis* system, which was being used to introduce Presbyterianism by the back door. Having enforced discipline, Whitgift turned to a more positive role – improving pastoral and educational standards among the clergy,

* Notes 84–152 on pp.61–3.

and fostering a most distinctive Anglican spirituality, while his theology remained broadly Calvinist⁸⁹

Whitgift came into conflict with one notable Welshman, John Penry, whose contribution to Welsh literature will be considered later. But the Presbyterian controversy hardly touched the Principality. It seems to have thrived in relatively populous manufacturing areas such as Lancashire and Northamptonshire,⁹⁰ rather than in more sparsely populated rural areas. Moreover, apart from Penry, the Puritans at this stage do not seem to have appreciated the importance of the Welsh language if they were to communicate their ideas West of the Severn. Penry himself, although he urged that the Bible should be translated into Welsh, and that sermons should be preached in Welsh, never published any tracts or pamphlets in Welsh, though this was possibly because of the difficulty and expense involved in a Welsh publication, rather than any lack of conviction on his part.

Whitgift did much to foster the life of Worcester Cathedral when he was bishop, making provision for the fabric, the grammar school, conduct of divine service; the duties of the clergy, including residence, and preaching; he himself was an indefatigable preacher. Like Richard Davies and Nicholas Robinson, he found many survivals of 'popery' in his diocese – holy water, primers, candles and rosaries.⁹¹

Before his elevation to Worcester, Whitgift had been 'one of the wealthiest pluralists in the Elizabethan Church', being simultaneously Dean of Lincoln, Prebendary of Nassington and Rector of Laceby.⁹² While he realised the scandal that pluralism could (or had) become, Whitgift was hardly likely to seek its abolition. In reply to Cartwright in the early 1570s, he had written, 'It must be considered whether the faults be in the things themselves, or in the persons.'⁹³ Granted that many clerical stipends were too low to attract men of learning, pluralism was unavoidable; let the pluralists at least be conscientious and men of learning, and let the 'plum' livings, whether sinecures or well endowed parishes, likewise be the reward for learning and devotion, not 'jobs for the boys.'⁹⁴ Whitgift was seriously concerned at the loss of Church revenues through impropriations, and this was one of his main concerns in his last great enquiry of 1603. It should be said that Whitgift is also remembered as the founder of a notable grammar school at Croydon, in which he took a close personal interest in his last years.⁹⁵

When Whitgift became Archbishop of Canterbury, William Hughes, Nicholas Robinson and William Blethin were Bishops, respectively of St Asaph, Bangor and Llandaff. He inherited as Bishop of St David's quite the most disastrous occupant of a Welsh bishopric in that age. Marmaduke Middleton came from a good Cardiganshire family. He was educated at Oxford, but left without taking a degree. He then went to Ireland, where he was ordained, and in 1579 was elected Bishop of Waterford and Lismore. What influence had assisted his election is unknown, but it was soon dissipated. He was accused of leading a bad life and of plundering the cathedral. Though no evidence was brought against him, popular feeling was so strong that in 1581 he was forced to leave Ireland, though he came to Wales with warm recommendations from Archbishop Loftus and the Lord Deputy (Lord Grey de Wilton.)⁹⁶ In November 1582, he was elected Bishop of St David's. This seems to have been an error of judgement on the part of the Council, possibly based on the hope that if he returned to his native parts, he would turn over a new leaf. An equally sanguine hope led Oxford University to create him a Doctor of Divinity the following year, in the expectation that he would promote Oxford graduates – though it must be said that his own son Richard, a Bachelor of Divinity, and graduate of Jesus College, did become Vicar of Llanarthney (1588) and Archdeacon of Cardigan (1589). Middleton carried out a visitation of his diocese in 1583. His Articles of Visitation and Injunctions survive, and they give an interesting insight into the state of the diocese. He wrote to Walsingham, Secretary of State, 'There is little popery, but the people are greatly infected with atheism and wonderfully given over to vicious life.'⁹⁷ 'Popery' here probably means recusancy. He declared in his Injunctions, 'I understand there is used in most parts of my diocese an infinite number of popish ceremonies.' His very first injunction forbade Elevation of the Host – 'a foolish use amongst a sort of ignorant blind priests and ministers'; injunction No.15 forbade use of chrism in baptism; others tried to abolish traditional use of crosses, candles and bells at burials, and customs at churching of women; altars and rood-lofts were to be 'pulled down and utterly defaced'; old superstitious Holy Days' were not to be observed; predictably, his articles enquired 'Whether there be any ... that do use to go on pilgrimage to wells or other superstitious places; or use prayers upon beads, or upon the graves of the dead.'⁹⁸ Middleton's visitation shows that twenty years'

patient work by his predecessor had not solved the problems of the diocese; perhaps at best laid the foundations for long-term solutions. His Injunctions set forth the laudable aims to 'increase true religion, and maintain the country in all virtue and godliness.'⁹⁹ But he was hardly one of those saintly bishops who 'taught their flock by their example.' Bishop Middleton quarrelled with the influential Sir John Perrot of Pembrokeshire, but his behaviour caused the ecclesiastical commissioners to intervene; he was accused of having two wives (Elizabeth Gigge and Alice Prime), of forging a will, of simony and abuses of charity. The exact particulars are unknown, but Middleton was degraded from office. He died in 1593 and was buried in St George's Chapel, Windsor.¹⁰⁰ It seems that despite his disgrace, he still had friends in high places. His son later became Chaplain to Prince Charles when the latter was Prince of Wales (1614).

The see of Bangor fell vacant within a year of Whitgift's promotion to Canterbury. Hugh Bellot, who was elected to succeed Nicholas Robinson in December 1585, was the second son of Thomas Bellot of Great Moreton, Cheshire. The family came from Norfolk, but John Bellot married Katherine Moreton, and the family moved to Cheshire in the time of Edward VI. Hugh was born before this, in 1542. In 1561 he entered Christ's College, Cambridge, as a pensioner, graduating B.A. in 1564, M.A. in 1567 and D.D. in 1579. In 1567 he was elected a fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, and in 1570 proctor. He became chaplain to Bishop Cox of Ely, who appointed him Rector of Tydd St Giles (1571) and Doddington-cum-March (1573). He was friendly with Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Westminster, who is thought to have helped him to find promotion in Wales – sinecure Rector of Caerwys and Vicar of Gresford (1584), and Bishop of Bangor (1585).¹⁰¹ His background in Cheshire and his friendship with Gabriel Goodman must have given him some knowledge of North Wales. He assisted William Morgan in translating the Bible, and is said by Yorke to have participated in the work himself, though there is no confirmation of this. He was allowed to hold the deanery of Bangor *in commendam*. He remained Bishop of Bangor for ten years (1585 – 95). He seems to have made no great impact, but the effects of his episcopate on the higher and parochial clergy will be considered later.*

In June 1595, he was translated to Chester, but died a year later, aged only 54, at Plas Power, near Wrexham. His funeral was solemnised at Chester Cathedral, but he was

* infra, pp.93ff.,176-8.

buried in Wrexham parish church, where an effigy and monument were erected in the chancel by his brother Cuthbert, Prebendary of Penmynydd and Archdeacon of Chester. The effigy is recumbent, showing Bishop Bellot in post-Reformation vestments ¹⁰² – continuing the tradition from medieval tombs but with modifications reflecting the religious changes. The inscription placed by Cuthbert Bellot reads:

Ob singularem in Deum pietatem, vitae integrationem, prudentiam et doctrinam, regina Elizabetha primum ad episcopatum Bangorensem, in quo decem annos sedit, postea ad episcopatum Cestrensum transtulit, ex quo post paucos menses Christus in coelestum patriam evocavit.

(For his singular piety to Almighty God, his integrity of life, his prudence and sound doctrine, Queen Elizabeth first appointed him to the bishopric of Bangor, over which he presided for ten years, and afterwards translated him to the bishopric of Chester, from which after a few months Christ called him to the heavenly country.)

Funerary inscriptions tend to be fulsome, but Bishop Bellot cannot have been entirely unworthy of such praise. He is said to have been a great persecutor of Roman Catholics. ¹⁰³

Hugh Bellot was succeeded by Richard Vaughan, who remained at Bangor for only two years. Like his predecessors, Glynn, Meyrick and Robinson, Vaughan was a native of the diocese, born at Nyffryn in Llŷn about 1550, the second son of Robert Vaughan. Through his mother he was related to the Gyffin family, and he was also related to John Aylmer, Bishop of London (1577 – 95). Vaughan entered St John's College, Cambridge, in November 1569, becoming a scholar in 1573, B.A. in 1574, M.A. in 1577, B.D. in 1588 and D.D. in 1589. Soon after taking his M.A., he became chaplain to Bishop Aylmer, who conferred a string of appointments on him in his London diocese, beginning with the rectory of Chipping Ongar ¹⁰⁴ in 1580 and including the prebend of Holborn (1580) and the archdeaconry of Middlesex (1588). He was also prebendary of Wells (1593) and chaplain to Queen Elizabeth and Lord Keeper Puckering. He was considered for the vacant see of Llandaff in 1595, but it was to his native diocese of Bangor that he was appointed that year. ¹⁰⁵ He had already held appointments in Wales as sinecure Rector of Angle (1593) and Prebendary of Garthprengy in Brecon College (1594), to both of which he was appointed by Lord Keeper Egerton. ¹⁰⁶ In 1596 he also became Archdeacon of

Anglesey. He was Bishop of Bangor for too short a time to do more than make a contribution to its gradual uplift, though he made a lasting contribution by founding scholarships at St John's for boys from the diocese, one of the early holders of which was his distant kinsman and protégé John Williams, later Bishop of Lincoln. In 1597, Vaughan was translated to Chester, where he had much trouble with recusants, and in 1604 to London. At London, he was responsible for ejecting a few of the more obstinate Puritans, in fulfilment of the policies of Whitgift and Bancroft. John Chamberlain made the famous remark that he evicted them with such wisdom and tact that even they respected his integrity.¹⁰⁷ This was probably due, at least in part, to a common theological outlook. Vaughan is commonly regarded as being the author of the Calvinistic Lambeth Articles in 1595.¹⁰⁸ Vaughan was a great preacher, and is said to have preached as often as Calvin did at Geneva – a high claim indeed.¹⁰⁹ Vaughan died of an apoplexy in 1607, aged only about 57.

Gervase Babington, who succeeded William Blethin at Llandaff in August 1591 (after an interregnum of nine months), was in some ways similar to Bellot and Vaughan. He is said to have been related to the well-known family of that name from Nottinghamshire. He was educated at Cambridge, becoming a fellow of Trinity College, and so he, too, came from Whitgift's academic circle. In 1598 he was incorporated M.A. at Oxford. He was then employed by the Earl of Pembroke as tutor to his two sons, William (later Earl of Pembroke) and Philip (later Earl of Montgomery). This brought him into a circle of highly influential aristocrats, which included his pupils' mother, Mary, Countess of Pembroke, sister of Sir Philip Sidney, patroness of Spenser and Shakespeare. The members of the circle were moderately Puritan in their sympathies. Babington assisted Lady Pembroke in versifying the Psalms. The Pembrokes were one of the most influential families in Wales, particularly in Glamorgan, and it was through their influence and that of the powerful Stradling family that Babington was appointed Treasurer of Llandaff in January 1590, becoming bishop eighteen months later. He had already had some experience of the diocese as a lecturer at Cardiff in 1584.¹¹⁰ In 1595 he was translated to Exeter and in 1597 to Worcester. Babington was a worthy bishop, a 'constant preacher and laborious student',¹¹¹ who published an exposition of the commandments in 1585 (reprinted in 1590 and 1600) and one on the Lord's Prayer (1588), a commentary on the Beatitudes

(1584) and notes on Genesis (1592), Exodus and Leviticus (1604). Several of his sermons at St Paul's Cross were published.¹¹² Both by his preaching and his publications, therefore, he was a communicator of the faith, but his contribution should perhaps be seen as being to the Church of England as a whole, rather than to that part of it in Wales in particular.

William Morgan, who succeeded Babington as Bishop of Llandaff in 1595, is one of the most illustrious figures in all Welsh history. He has become famous for his work in translating the Bible and Prayer Book into Welsh, which proved to be an immortal service to the Welsh language and culture. The full importance of his work will be discussed elsewhere. * Morgan came from a less exalted background than most of the Elizabethan bishops in that his family were not land-owning gentry, being tenants of the Wynns of Gwydir in the parish of Penmachno, Caernarfonshire. But his forebears were of some antiquity, and were by no means poor – his birth-place Tŷ Mawr was clearly a dwelling of some substance, though the building now preserved by the National Trust contains later additions. He is said variously to have received his early education at the hands of a recusant priest, or Sir John Wynn's resident tutor, before possibly being admitted to Westminster School on the recommendation of Gabriel Goodman. From there he proceeded to St John's College, Cambridge, thus gaining admission to Whitgift's academic circle. His outstanding gifts as a scholar brought him promotion in the Church, as Vicar of Llanbadarn Fawr (1572) of Welshpool (1575) and of Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochant (1578). It was here that he did most of the work of translating the Scriptures into Welsh.

William Morgan does not seem to have enjoyed the smooth working relationship with the local gentry that most Welsh bishops in this period were able to establish. At Llanrhaeadr, he came into conflict with Ieuan Meredith of Lloran Uchaf, which led to physical violence in the parish and to protracted lawsuits.¹¹³ Morgan seems to have acted with restraint in a dispute which involved, among other things, non-payment of tithes and the training of the militia, though on one occasion he slapped his mother-in-law's face to restrain her excessive zeal, an act for which he expressed due contrition.¹¹⁴ Meredith, or his supporters, on the other hand, assaulted Morgan's curate, Lewis Hughes. Morgan, however, had antagonised Meredith by acting as marriage broker for Catherine Lloyd, on whom the latter's relative, Edward, had

* infra, pp.333–4.

designs; appearing as a witness against him in a complaint of fornication; and, perhaps not least, by marrying a widow related to the Morrises and Merediths – ‘it may be guessed she took away with her a fair widow’s portion.’¹¹⁵ Morgan was perhaps more righteous than tactful, and the whole affair shows how dangerous it was to antagonise a man as powerful as Ieuan Meredith, a landowner, and an attorney at the Council of the Marches. The one good outcome of the business was to bring William Morgan (or bring him back) to the attention of Whitgift who was then Vice-President of the Council of the Marches, and enlist his support for the work of translating the Bible.

Morgan enjoyed the favour of the Wynns of Gwydir for most of his career, and Sir John Wynn supported him against Ieuan Meredith.¹¹⁶ When he became Bishop of St Asaph in 1601, Morgan became involved in a dispute with David Holland of Teirdan over the tithes of Abergele; again he had the support of Sir John Wynn. But then in 1603, he fell out with Sir John himself over the tithes of Llanrwst: Bishop Morgan refused to confirm Sir John’s purchase of the tithes for three lives at an annual rent of £60. At Llanrhaeadr, at Abergele, and at Llanrwst, Morgan was attempting to safeguard Church revenues in a way that earlier Elizabethan bishops had often failed to do. J.Gwynfor Jones describes Sir John Wynn as an ‘avaricious land-grabber,’¹¹⁷ though it has to be said that he tried to do some good with his ill-gotten gains, proposing to build the Gwydir chapel at Llanrwst and to found a grammar school. Morgan was Bishop of Llandaff for six years (1595 – 1601) and of St Asaph for only three (1601 – 04). Soon after his appointment to the latter, he convened a synod (20 October 1601) at which he bade the clergy conduct services dutifully – Matins and Evensong on Sundays and Holy Days, Matins also on Wednesdays and Fridays and Evensong on Saturdays; a sermon was to be preached in parish churches once a quarter; clandestine marriages were forbidden. The clergy voted to tax themselves ‘according to immemorial usage.’¹¹⁸ Another thing he did accomplish in that short time was to repair the fabric of St Asaph Cathedral. Though Morgan is probably remembered more as a scholar than as a bishop, and though he presided in his two dioceses for so short a time, Glanmor Williams lists his virtues as a prelate as seeking to improve the quality of the clergy, defending the material possessions of the Church, opposing Roman Catholics in both dioceses, continuing the work of translation, and

encouraging young scholars, notably John Davies of Mallwyd.¹¹⁹ His work in translating the Bible made him the focal point for a circle of distinguished churchmen, especially in North Wales. He built on the work of Richard Davies and William Salesbury; not only did he drastically revise their translation of the New Testament and Prayer Book, but he translated the Old Testament and Apocrypha into Welsh for the first time; Hugh Bellot and William Hughes gave him encouragement and assistance; his successor at St Asaph, Richard Parry, continued his work, along with Edmwnd (Edmund) Prys, Archdeacon of Merioneth, and John Davies of Mallwyd. Morgan was in many ways the most influential Welsh churchman of his time.

At the end of Whitgift's primacy, there was a bishop in each of the Welsh sees who served from seventeen to twenty-two years; it was a second period of consolidation and stability. The earliest of the four to be appointed was Anthony Rudd, Marmaduke Middleton's successor at St David's, in 1594. Born about 1550, Rudd studied at Cambridge, becoming a fellow of Trinity College in 1569 (bringing him also into Whitgift's circle) and completing his studies as a D.D. in 1583. The following year he was made Dean of Gloucester, and after ten years he was elevated to St David's. He is not known to have had any previous connection with Wales, either by birth or by holding an appointment there. He was an excellent preacher, and four of his sermons at Court were published. He was held in high regard by both Queen Elizabeth and Archbishop Whitgift, and his time at St David's might well have been a stepping-stone to a more lucrative bishopric in England, as it had been for Thomas Young, and was again to be for William Laud. But in 1596 he preached a sermon at Court in which he made a tactless reference to the Queen's advancing years which was not appreciated, and his prospects for elevation promptly vanished. However, he may have been well content with his Welsh bishopric, for he is said to have 'wrought much on the Welsh by his wisdom and won their affection.'¹²⁰ He built up an estate at Llangathen, Carmarthenshire, which remained in his family's hands for a century. He married Ann Dalton, by whom he had three sons. Of these, Robert became Archdeacon of St David's (1607 – 48), and Richard, alias Rice, Archdeacon of Carmarthen from 1643 until his ejection. Another member of the family, Roger, was Chancellor of St David's (1600 – 14). Although the Rudds were not indigenous to Wales, they successfully assimilated themselves to the Welsh gentry. Anthony remained Bishop of St David's

for over twenty years until his death in 1617.

Richard Vaughan was succeeded at Bangor in 1597 by his first cousin, Henry Rowlands, who was then dean. Rowlands was the son of Rolant ap Robert, described as a 'fairly substantial gentleman', and Elizabeth, daughter of Gruffydd ap Robert Fychan (alias Vaughan) of Mellteyrn.¹²¹ The standing of his family was recognised by the bards:

Oes un bonedd sydd ben[^]ach?

Gwn na bu'r un o bedair ach.

(Was there a gentleman more exalted?

I know there has not been to the fourth generation.)

Rowlands was educated at New College, Oxford, graduating B.A. in 1574, M.A. in 1577, B.D. from St Mary Hall in 1591 and D.D. in 1605. With his academic distinction and family connections, it is not surprising that promotion came rapidly. He was ordained deacon in 1572 (when he was under the canonical age) and next day appointed Rector of Mellteyrn, before graduating. In 1581 he was made Rector of Launton, Oxon., where he married Frances Hutchins. In 1583 he became sinecure Rector of Aberdaron, in 1584 Prebendary of Penmynydd, in 1588 Archdeacon of Anglesey, and in 1593 Dean of Bangor. Apart from his career at Oxford and his incumbency at Launton, his whole life and service were in the diocese of Bangor.

Bishop Rowlands was a friend of Sir John Wynn, who wrote of him,

He was sufficiently learned... and was a good and provident governor of his church and diocese, a great repairer of his decayed cathedral church and a great builder upon the glebe of divers other churches which he had *in commendam*, in housekeeping and hospitality, both to rich and poor.¹²²

'Housekeeping' (in the widest sense of the word) and 'hospitality' might well have been taken as the motto of his episcopate. J. Gwynfor Jones speaks of his 'sheer determination to ensure the material well-being of his see';¹²³ in this he was trying, like Bishop Blethin at Llandaff, to repair the despoliation of previous years. In 1611, he repaired the roof of the Cathedral, and with a voluntary contribution from the clergy, purchased three 'fair bells.' He left £20 in his will to cover the roof with lead, and for the steeple.

What care I took for this temple whiles I was Bishop, and in what estate I

found it, other do know, and though I leave it in far better estate than it was, yet God knows it had need to be daily looked into, having no other maintenance but the Bishop's benevolence and his clergy, from time to time.¹²⁴

J.Gwynfor Jones says that it is difficult to prove whether the standards of the clergy improved under him,¹²⁵ but as will be seen later, the evidence is that they did. * To promote education, he founded a grammar school at Botwnnog and scholarships at Jesus College, Oxford; he took an interest in the Friars School, Bangor, urging Sir John Wynn to nominate a candidate from Beddgelert for a scholarship.¹²⁶ His specifications for the schoolmaster at Botwnnog are interesting – he was to be unmarried, a good scholar, an M.A. and an Englishman 'for the language sake'; he was to be paid £20 p.a. – a middling sum for a schoolmaster – while the usher was to receive £8 but also to be curate of Bryncroes or Llangian (the former would have brought him an additional £4.4s.0d p.a.) Rowlands also founded almshouses at Bangor and left money in his will for the poor of ten parishes with which he was connected. He reckoned his own property situated in Anglesey and Caernarfonshire to be worth £2,000 and was careful over its management, so that, in spite of his generosity, he still 'died rich.'¹²⁷

It has been seen that Bishop Rowlands was related through his mother to his predecessor Richard Vaughan. He was also related to his dean, Edmund Griffith, who later became Bishop of Bangor. The beneficiaries of Rowlands' will included Richard and Robert Wynn (alias Gwynn), Arthur Williams of the Cochwillan family, and David Yale, Chancellor of Chester and also beneficed in North Wales. Rowlands purchased lands in Llandegai mortgaged to him by Piers Griffith of Penrhyn (a relative of the Dean.) To say that he carefully cultivated the gentry¹²⁸ is an understatement. There was clearly emerging at Bangor by 1600 a clerical aristocracy, well rooted in the local gentry, who were to dominate the diocese until the Civil War. As will be seen, his successor, Lewis Bayly, who was not a member of this circle, found it less easy to establish good relations with the gentry. **

Rowlands practised the virtue of hospitality, and was a great patron of the bards, Ellis ap Siôn ap Morus wrote of him :

Gwr dysgedig diddig da,

Tan Dduw byth mi a'i gobeithia...

* infra, pp.176-8

** infra, pp.68-9.

Di a gefaist ddwy rodd gyfa

Gras a ffortun fel dyn da. *

(A genial, learned and good man, under God I will always trust in him... you have received two gifts – grace and fortune as a good man.)

J.Gwynfor Jones sees his long episcopate of nineteen years as a milestone in the history of the diocese:

It was during his episcopate at the turn of the century that the Anglican settlement began to strengthen its attachments in Gwynedd...

The best of what the Anglican Church in Wales had to offer at the turn of the seventeenth century was incorporated in the character and dedicated service of Rowlands. 129

This is high praise indeed, and Rowlands clearly was a bishop after Whitgift's own heart.

Francis Godwin, who succeeded William Morgan at Llandaff in 1601 was born in Northamptonshire, the son of a clergyman, Thomas Godwin, who later became Bishop of Bath and Wells (1584 – 93). Francis Godwin was educated at Oxford, graduating B.A. in 1581 and M.A. in 1584. In 1586 he became Prebendary of St Decuman's in his father's diocese, and in 1587 Sub-dean of Exeter. He also held various livings in the diocese of Bath and Wells. His only connection with Wales before his elevation seems to have been a journey he made in 1590 accompanying the great antiquarian Camden. However, it should be stressed that South Wales and Somerset were closely linked by trade and travel in the days when the Bristol Channel was a highway rather than a barrier. Antiquarian research was one of Francis Godwin's own special interests, and one of his most notable works of scholarship was the *Catalogue of the Bishops of England*. While the work does not necessarily imply a belief in the apostolic succession (then being expounded by Bancroft and others), it emphasised the Church of England's continuity with the medieval past. This pleased Queen Elizabeth, who made Godwin Bishop of Llandaff in the year of its publication (1601). He retained the sub-deanery of Exeter and the rectory of Kingston Seymour, Somerset, *in commendam*. To these in 1603, he added the rectory of Shire Newton, Monmouthshire, which he probably retained until his death. In 1607, he tried without success to obtain the archdeaconry of Gloucester, even offering a bribe for it. As will be seen shortly, Godwin found his task at Llandaff daunting, and was probably seeking

* Quoted by Gwynfor Jones, op. cit., p.43.

some boost for his flagging spirits. In 1617 he was translated to Hereford, where he had oversight of the Welsh parishes on the Western border of his diocese. Browne Willis described him as 'a very great simoniac',¹³⁰ who omitted no opportunity of disposing of his preferments, in order to provide for his children. These included Thomas Godwin, Prebendary of Llandaff and in 1627 (after his father's translation) Vicar of Trellech, Monmouthshire.

Bishop Godwin carried out his primary visitation soon after his consecration in 1601, and a triennial visitation of his cathedral on 1 August 1604. In 1603 he travelled through Glamorgan, making a careful note of his observations. The *Injunctions* he issued the same year were no doubt intended to deal with real problems in the diocese. These, and his report to Archbishop Whitgift the previous year, present 'by no means a cheerful picture. The Church was weak and impoverished.'¹³¹ The *Injunctions* reveal many abuses:- the Sabbath day was 'horribly profaned everywhere' by playing unlawful games in time of divine service, and by people not attending church, particularly on Sunday afternoon; many churches and chapels, and indeed the cathedral (despite Bishop Blethin's efforts) were in disrepair; the report to the Bishop of quarterly sermons was not kept up; people were backward in sending their children to catechism; clandestine marriages were taking place; excommunicate persons were being permitted to attend divine service; much land was embezzled from the Church; clergy were being subjected to abuse and even assault; many 'heinous offences' were not being reported at the visitations. This list points to a general slackness of discipline. The *Injunctions* also contained practical advice and suggestions; clergy were only to serve a cure or preach after banns on three holy days or with the dispensation of the Chancellor; parishioners were to be admonished to keep the church and churchyard in good repair; clergy were to urge sick persons 'how acceptable a thing it shall be to Almighty God to contribute' to the repair of the Cathedral, while a book of benefactors was to be provided recording the names of those who gave liberally.¹³² The last two points suggest an interesting combination respectively of medieval and modern methods of appealing to the generosity of the faithful.

Apart from simony and nepotism already mentioned, Bishop Godwin is commonly accused of neglecting the problem of recusancy in the diocese.¹³³ This certainly was a

problem, particularly in Gwent. In 1609, Bishop Godwin was said to be 'much discouraged',¹³⁴ and it is possible that, faced with problems which he found heartbreaking, he withdrew into the world of scholarship. Yet he had the reputation of being a 'good preacher and a strict liver.'¹³⁵ Llandaff was not the only diocese where recusancy was a problem, though in 1603 it returned proportionately the greatest number of Roman Catholics – 381, as against 37,100 communicant Anglicans. St David's may have underestimated the number (145) in its return. Twenty years later, Bishop Laud noted 164 in the Archdeaconry of Brecon alone, 50 in that of Carmarthen, but only 12 in St David's and one in Cardigan. Recusancy seems to have been greater in the areas away from the Irish Sea, possibly from antipathy on the West Coast to either the Spanish or the Irish. In the 1630s, Bishop Owen of St Asaph was concerned at the apparent growth of recusancy, or at least its more obvious manifestations, the shrine at Holywell furnishing a focal point of devotion.¹³⁶ The example of Queen Henrietta Maria may have encouraged Catholics to be more open about their faith.

Professor Moelwyn Merchant pays tribute to Bishop Godwin's remarkable literary gifts, not only as an antiquarian, but also as a historian and a connoisseur of scientific thought. Of his *Annals of the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary* (1615), Merchant recognises the 'critical balance of the judgement on Henry, his tender feelings for the early death of Edward and ... his understanding of Mary's tragic dilemma,' describing her as a 'Lady, very godly, merciful, chaste and in every way praiseworthy, if you regard not the cross of her Religion.' Perhaps the most remarkable of his works are the novel *The Man in the Moon*, written in his early years at Llandaff, which was to pass through twenty-five editions and be translated into French, Dutch and German, and *Nuncius Inanimatus*, a quasi-scientific work published in 1629 after his translation to Hereford. The former work both looks back to the Renaissance quest for Arcadia (now to be found not in some remote island but in the sky) and forwards with the scientific works of Copernicus, Kepler and Gilbert. The latter book was in harmony with the 'new philosophy' of Francis Bacon. Merchant speaks of Godwin's

Ranging, inquiring mind, informed both in his historical and scientific speculation with a tinge of urbane scepticism, a piety tending to Puritanism, yet

held in balance by an ironic detachment ... a very remarkable bishop.¹³⁷

But if Godwin's imaginary flights could take him on lunar journeys, he still had his feet planted firmly on the ground – 'a clear-headed administrator exercised over the fabric of his churches'¹³⁸ and in this respect a worthy successor of William Blethin and colleague of William Morgan and Henry Rowlands. Bishop Godwin's theological position is difficult to determine, but Collinson notes that when at Hereford (after 1617), he was the only bishop who actually enforced the Book of Sports.¹³⁹

Though Richard Parry was appointed Bishop of St Asaph only in the year of Archbishop Whitgift's death (1604) he was very much a man after Whitgift's heart, and, as a fellow-worker in the field of Biblical translation, a worthy successor to William Morgan. He was born at Pwllhaelog in Flintshire of a family 'comfortably established.' Like Morgan, he was educated at Westminster, then at Christ Church, Oxford. Parry is said to have received his education at the expense of his uncle, William Parry, a Doctor of Law and Member of Parliament. The latter became a convert to Roman Catholicism, and was hanged, drawn and quartered for treason. Understandably, Bishop Parry kept quiet about the connection.¹⁴⁰ After graduating, he received a series of appointments in Wales: Master of Ruthin School (an appointment in which Gabriel Goodman no doubt had a hand), Vicar of Gresford (1592 – 1610), Chancellor and Dean of Bangor. After his promotion to St Asaph, he held a number of livings *in commendam* – Gresford (supra), Rhuddlan (1605 – 18), Cilcain (1605 – 22), Cwm (1610 – 16) and Llanrwst (1616 – 23). These livings left him 'comfortably well off' even while supporting a wife and ten children.¹⁴¹ Parry governed his diocese 'with a greater degree of tact and certainly with less stubborn high-mindedness [sic] than Bishop William Morgan.'¹⁴² In other words, he found ways of working with the gentry, including Sir John Wynn. Bishop Parry in fact acted as arbiter between Sir John and his tenants at Llysfaen, Penmaen and Eirias.¹⁴³ Sir John in return offered to repair and rebuild a church near Conwy, and interested Parry in his plans to build a chapel at Llanrwst.¹⁴⁴ Parry's relationship with the gentry of the diocese has been described as 'cordial but not submissive'.¹⁴⁵ Sir John Wynn was not only interested in the material fabric of churches. He urged Parry to complete the translation of the Psalms cut short by the death of Edward Kyffin, and to instruct the common people 'for they fall into atheism.'¹⁴⁶ Bishop Parry (or his family) seems to

have established a close relationship with another of the leading families of the diocese, the Mostyns. On 27 November 1624, Bishop Parry's widow married Thomas Mostyn, along with a son and daughter of each family, at a remarkable triple wedding at Diserth.¹⁴⁷ Thomas Mostyn had in fact led the gentry of the diocese in recommending Parry as bishop in 1604.

In 1610, Bishop Parry complained to Lord Treasurer Salisbury of the wretched state of the diocese for lack of learned and resident clergy.¹⁴⁸ In fact, as will be seen, a steady improvement in the educational standards of the clergy was taking place throughout Wales, and not least in the diocese of St.Asaph. * . . . Parry had an ambitious scheme to join twenty-eight vicarages to neighbouring ones to improve stipends, but he drew back from joining the rectory and vicarage of Henllan in case the rectory became converted to a lay fee.¹⁴⁹

The incidence of recusancy in the diocese has already been noted.¹⁵⁰ Parry issued certificates for disarming papists, and administered the Oath of Allegiance in conjunction with the Commission of the Peace.¹⁵¹ In this, he was followed by his successor, Bishop Hanmer. But for the most part, he preferred to keep out of secular affairs. J.Gwynfor Jones has suggested that after 1610, his main pre-occupation was the revision of Bishop Morgan's Bible – the work for which he is best remembered. In this, he had the cooperation of Edmwnd Prys, who completed the translation of the Psalms, and John Davies, compiler of the Welsh dictionary. It has been said of him that he was not 'one of the most prominent Episcopal personalities in Wales of his age, but he will be regarded as a member of that relatively small band of assiduous and devoted scholars who made a major contribution to Welsh life and letters in the "age of the Reformation."'”¹⁵² Like his contemporaries Bishops Rudd, Rowlands and Godwin, not the least of his virtues was to provide his diocese with a long period of stability during which the forces which were at work for improvement could make some headway.

The bishops considered in this section were all men who came to maturity under the Elizabethan Settlement. It was a time when, if too early for 'Anglicanism' to have emerged, at least English Protestantism was developing its identity. Bishops in the Church of England were already assuming familiar characteristics - learned, resident, pastoral, diligent preachers, usually family men and, in Wales at least, connected to the

* infra, pp.164-8.

leaders of society by marriage if not by blood. It was, perhaps, symbolic that this was a time for repair of cathedrals. The Welsh bishops of this period were certainly not without their faults; but, as Glanmor Williams has written, 'Before the end of the sixteenth century..... Wales, together with England, had become a member of the Protestant camp in Europe'. 152a.

Notes – Section II

84. For a brief account of Parker's primacy, see Black, *op.cit.*, pp.24 – 7, 155 – 56. For a fuller account see V.J.K.Brook, *Parker* (Oxford, 1962).
85. MacCulloch, *op.cit.*, p.41, maintains that Grindal's translation to Canterbury was a chance to undermine Presbyterianism by showing that bishops could lead in reforming the Church. For an important re-assessment of Grindal, see*
86. Collinson in *The Religion of Protestants* suggests that it may have been the latter rather than the former, p.29. That the bishops under Elizabeth and James I were basically Erastian he discusses pp.6 ff. On 'propheying', see p.42, n.39.
87. Patrick Collinson, 'The "not conformytie" of the young John Whitgift,' in *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol.xv (1955) pp.192 ff.
88. See below pp. 51–2
89. P.M.Dawley, *John Whitgift and the Reformation* (London 1955) passim, but especially Chapters 6 and 7. See also Nicholas Tyacke, 'Puritanism, Arminianism and Counter-Revolution' in *The Origins of the English Civil War*, ed. Conrad Russell (London 1973) Chapter 4.
90. Richardson, *op. cit.*, p.8; Shiels, *op.cit.* pp.21 – 4.
91. Dawley, *op. cit.*, pp. 111, 119. * [Patrick Collinson, Archbishop Grindal, 1519–83 (London, 1979), pp.181–2.
92. *Ibid.*, p.85
93. *Ibid.*, p.137.
94. *Ibid.*, Chapter 7.
95. *Ibid.*, pp. 221 – 3.
96. Glanmor Williams, *WR*. P.376.
97. SPD Eliz. I, Vol. 162, No.29, p.119.
98. W.P.M.Kennedy, *Elizabethan Episcopal Administration* (London, Oxford and Milwaukee, 1924), pp.139 ff.
99. *Ibid.*, p.145.
100. *DNB*.
101. *DNB*.
102. *A Guide to Wrexham Parish Church* (anon.) The present writer has seen the monument.
103. *DNB*.
104. I am indebted to the local historian, Rosalin Barker, for pointing out there was a community of 'ex-patriate' Welshmen around Chipping Ongar, drawn there through cattle-droving. John Aylmer was sometime tutor to Lady Jane Grey; an exile under Mary but 'not troublesome' on his return; Archdeacon then Bishop (1577) of London. – H.C.Porter, *Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge* (Cambridge 1958), pp.82, 88.
105. *DNB*.

106.DNB.

107.DNB.

108.ODCC : The Lambeth Articles. Porter *op.cit.*, pp.364 ff.

109.Fincham, *op.cit.*, p.86.

110.Newell, *op.cit.*, p.149.

111.DNB.

112.Babington is described by Fincham as a Calvinist – *op.cit.*, p.233. He notes how to Babington, ‘Thy Kingdom come’ meant the spread of the Gospel by preaching, whereas to Andrewes, it meant the conquest of sin and growth of righteousness through prayer. Babington, however, urged that services should be conducted with reverence and decorum.

113.Ifan ap Owen Edwards, ‘William Morgan’s quarrel with his parishioners at Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant’ in the *BBCS*, Vol.III, 1925 – 6, pp.299 ff.

114.*Ibid.*, pp.310 – 11.

115.*Ibid.*, p.313.

116.J.Gwynfor Jones ‘Bishop William Morgan’s dispute with Sir John Wynn of Gwydir in 1603 – 4 in *JHSCW*, Vol.XXII, 1972, pp.109 ff.

117.*Ibid.*

118.DRT I, pp.101 – 2. The customary rate was 3d in the £ on the value of livings quoted in VE.

119.Glanmor Williams, ‘William Morgan’s Bible and the Cambridge Connection’ in *The Welsh History Review (WHR)* Vol.14, No.3 (1989), p.378.

120.DNB. Fincham *op.cit.*, p.293, cites Rudd as an example of the preaching pastor ‘the most popular image and reality of episcopal government in the Jacobean Church.’

121.J.Gwynfor Jones, ‘Henry Rowlands Bishop of Bangor’ in *JHSCW*, Vol. XXXVI, 1979, pp.34 ff. He quotes the bardic couplet given below.

122.*Ibid. cit.* p.34.

123.*Ibid.*, pp.34 – 5.

124.*Ibid. cit.* p.37.

125.*Ibid.*, p.44.

126.*Ibid.*, pp.34, 40.

127.*Ibid.*, p.34.

128.*Ibid.*, p.44

129.*Ibid.*

130.*cit.DNB.*

131.Geraint Gruffydd ‘Bishop Francis Godwin’s Injunctions for the Diocese of Llandaff 1603’ in *JHSCW*, Vol. IV, 1954, p.16.

- 132.*Ibid.*, pp.18 – 20.
- 133.Glanmor Williams, *WR*, Chaps. 10 and 14.
- 134.Gruffydd, *op.cit.*, p.17.
- 135.*Ibid.*, p.14.
- 136.Harleian MS.280, ff. 162 – 4; S.P. 14 (James I) 162, 41/41.I., 66; LP MS.943.
- 137.W.M.Merchant, 'Bishop Francis Godwin, Historian and Novelist' in *JHSCW*, Vol.V, 1955, cit. p.47.
- 138.*Ibid.*, p.50.
- 139.Patrick Collinson, 'Elizabethan and Jacobean Puritanism as Forms of Popular Religious Culture' in *The Culture of English Puritanism 1560 – 1700* ed. C.Durstun and J.Eales (Basingstoke, 1996), pp.37 – 8, notes opposition to traditional rural sports as a mark of English Puritanism, but only after the publication of King James' *Book of Sports* in 1617. Puritans had been less sabbatarian before the time of Zanchius.
- 140.J.Gwynfor Jones, 'Richard Parry Bishop of St Asaph' in *BBCS*, Vol.XXVI, 1976, p.176. *Hel Achau* No.55, Feb. 1998, pp.28 – 9.
- 141.J.Gwynfor Jones, *op.cit.*, p.176.
- 142.*Ibid.*, p.177.
- 143.*Ibid.*, p.176.
- 144.*Ibid.*, pp.179 ff.
- 145.*Ibid.*, p.185. Bishop Parry died before actually giving his approval to Sir John Wynn's plans.
- 146.*Ibid.*, p.183.
- 147.*Ibid.*, p.181.
- 148.*Ibid.*, p.177.
- 149.*Ibid.*, p.178.
- 150.On recusancy in St Asaph, see D.A.Thomas, *The Welsh Elizabethan Catholic Martyrs* (Cardiff, 1971)
- 151.J.Gwynfor Jones, *op.cit.*, p.178.
- 152.*Ibid.*, pp.186 – 7.
- 152a. Wales and the Reformation (supra), p.402.

Part III : From the Accession of James I to the Civil War

It has long been a matter of debate whether the accession of a new King and new dynasty in 1603 marked a change in Church policy or rather a development. King James' appointments to the Episcopal bench are now seen as fulfilling the pastoral role foreshadowed under his predecessor.¹⁵³ No British monarch (with the possible exception of Henry VIII) was so interested or so well read in theology; but while there is little doubt that the King remained an orthodox Calvinist, he readily appointed adherents of the 'Arminian' tendency as bishops - Richard Neile, John Buckeridge and not least, Lancelot Andrewes. It was probably more significant that, Arminian or Calvinist, his bishops remained broadly Erastian.¹⁵⁴ At two points in the reign, the English Church might have moved away from the *via media* of Queen Elizabeth and Parker. At the Hampton Court Conference of 1604, some concessions might have been made to the demands of the moderate Puritans.¹⁵⁵ Instead, the Canons of 1604 were used to take a firmer line against the Puritans. The result was to drive some into separatism (or emigration), while the majority settled down to reform their flocks if they could not reform the Church.¹⁵⁶ At the Synod of Dort in 1618, there was the less likely possibility that the English Church would take a common line on theology with continental Calvinists. Instead, even English Calvinists like Carleton, Hall and Davenant were perceived to take a more moderate line than the Gomarians,¹⁵⁷ and the result was probably to encourage the growth of 'Arminianism' in the English Church. From some, at least, of these events, the Church in Wales was a little remote. Apart from Bishop Parry at St Asaph (very much the disciple of his predecessor William Morgan), there was no change of personnel among the Welsh bishops until 1616. There was no great 'crack down' on Puritans in Wales: Puritanism had still made little headway.¹⁵⁸ But it is worthy of note that the English delegation to the Synod of Dort should have been led by the Bishop of Llandaff. Parry's successor at St Asaph, John Hanmer, was not actually a Welshman, but was born at Selattyn, one of the Shropshire parishes of the St Asaph diocese; his family was a branch of the Flintshire Hanmers, who had had a long connection with Wales and with Welsh gentry families.¹⁵⁹ Educated at Oriel College, Oxford, he became a fellow of All Souls' in 1596. In 1614 he became Rector of Bingham, Notts., a Prebendary of Worcester, and Chaplain to James I. After becoming Bishop of St Asaph in 1624, he apparently continued to

reside at his family seat, the Welsh-sounding Pentre-pant, actually in Shropshire.¹⁶⁰ Like Morgan and Parry before him, Hanmer was allowed also to be Archdeacon of St Asaph; he kept in addition his prebend at Worcester and various livings *in commendam*.¹⁶¹

John Owen, who became Bishop of St Asaph in 1629, was the son of Owen Owens, Archdeacon of Anglesey. He was actually born at Burton Latimer, Northants, of which his father was also Rector, and which one presumes, therefore, was the family home. He was educated at Cambridge. He was possibly the John Owen who became Rector of Aberffraw, Anglesey, in February 1604/5, but otherwise, his appointments were in Northants - his father's old parish of Burton Latimer in 1608, and in 1625 Carlton and Cottingham. He is said to have stood high in favour with both Charles I (whose chaplain he became) and Archbishop Laud. He seems also to have been popular in his diocese, helped no doubt by the family connections which he claimed with all persons of quality there. He made improvements to the cathedral, including provision of a new organ in 1635. He also made provision for Welsh sermons to be preached in parish churches on the first Sunday of every month, to be funded by those who received the tithes of the parish. In January 1634/5, he was concerned about the repair of Wrexham Church, one of the architectural glories of the diocese, trying with only mixed success to levy a rate of £100 on the parish.¹⁶² Four months later, he noted the backwardness of his diocese in contributing to the repair of St Paul's Cathedral.¹⁶³ In 1636 Bishop Owen contributed £10 towards the entertainment of the King at Oxford out of a total of £2,666.1s.7d (compared with £20 from the Archbishop of York.)¹⁶⁴ At the time of the Scottish rising, the clergy of the diocese contributed generously to the King's war fund, in return for which they were exempted from a levy of horses for the trained bands.¹⁶⁵ However, a sign of the troubles of the time became apparent when an 'unlawful conventicle' was discovered at Llanyblodwel, Salop, within the diocese¹⁶⁶ - a rare instance of nonconformity in Wales and the Marches before the Civil War. Bishop Owen referred the matter to the Council of the Marches.¹⁶⁷ The reluctance to contribute to the repair of Wrexham Church and St Paul's Cathedral may have been due to poverty or meanness rather than Puritanism, for Bishop Owen seems to have detected no other signs of religious disaffection, though at Wrexham, Walter Cradock, and other Puritans were active before the Civil War. On

the contrary, in his annual reports to Archbishop Laud on the state of the diocese, he claimed in 1635 to have carried out all the King's instructions and to find his clergy very conformable; in 1633 and 1634, and again in 1637 and 1638, he reported on the orderliness and conformity of his diocese and clergy, which he spoke of as being a great comfort in his remote and poor diocese.¹⁶⁸ His main complaint^t was of the 'superstitious and frequent concourse' of recusants in Holywell (Treffynnon), wishing heartily that his people might be 'acquitted of superstition and profaneness.'¹⁶⁹ However, his wish was not granted, for in the following year he reported again on the great number of pilgrims, including Lady Falkland, who came openly and on foot, for which she was imprisoned, though on what precise charge is not clear.¹⁷⁰ Apart from regarding pilgrimage as 'superstitious', the Church authorities recognised that shrines like Holywell served as a focus for recusancy, and there was still the fear that under cover of pilgrimage, Roman Catholics, prompted by the Jesuits, might get up to treasonable activities. But in dismissing these pilgrimages as 'superstitious', Bishop Owen, like Erasmus Saunders in the next century, was failing to understand an abiding feature of Welsh spirituality. Pilgrimage to holy places, particularly wells associated with saints, had been a custom in Wales from the earliest days of Christianity or even before.¹⁷¹ As has already been said, the custom survived the Reformation and the upheavals of the seventeenth century to take on a new respectability in the eighteenth as a charming and ancient piece of folk-religion.¹⁷² Nor was the practice exclusive to Roman Catholics, avowed or cryptic.¹⁷³ But in his intolerance of pilgrimage, Bishop Owen was very much a man of his time.

John Owen was the author of a treatise in Welsh on the Ten Commandments, which he petitioned the King in 1640 for permission to print,¹⁷⁴ but this seems to have been forgotten in the political crisis which developed that year. In December 1641, Owen was one of the eleven bishops who signed a petition against the growth of mob violence against their order in Westminster; for this, they were sent to the Tower. When the bishopric of St Asaph was formally sequestered under the Root and Branch Bill (April 1642), Owen was allowed £500 p.a. compensation - not ungenerous under the circumstances, though he lost his sinecure rectories as well, and his palace was ransacked. He lived on until October 1651 and was buried in St Asaph Cathedral. Despite the House of Commons' legislation, the diocese of St Asaph was largely under

the King's control for most of the first Civil War (1642 - 6). Appointments continued to be made, including those at the cathedral, where William Erskin was made Prebendary of Llanefydd in 1644 and Nicholas Wright Prebendary of Meliden and Treasurer in 1645. These appointments were in the gift of the Bishop; whether under the circumstances they were purely nominal, it is difficult to know. The cathedral establishment was, of course, swept away when Parliament gained the upper hand, and a number of parochial appointments made after 1642 became the subject of dispute.

The best known Bishop of Bangor under the early Stuarts was Lewis Bayly. There is some dispute as to whether he was a true Welshman. He is commonly said to have been born, at an uncertain date, at Carmarthen, but according to his family, he was a Scot, a Bayly of Lamington (Lanarkshire) who came to England with James I. He studied at Exeter College, Oxford, becoming a B.D. in 1611 and D.D. in 1613. He was already by this time in the sacred ministry as Chaplain to Prince Henry and Rector of Llanedi, Carmarthenshire, in 1605; Rector of Weavenham, Cheshire, in 1607, and Treasurer of St Paul's Cathedral 1610 - 16. He was also Vicar of Evesham, Worcestershire. Some of his sermons there formed the basis for his best-known work - *The Practice of Piety*, which he published in 1611 and dedicated to Prince Henry. He preached the latter's funeral sermon in 1612, but his career continued despite the loss of his patron. He became Rector of St Matthew's Friday Street in the City of London (1612 - 16) and Prebendary of Lichfield (1614). He became Archdeacon of both St Alban's and Anglesey in 1616 and in the same year Bishop of Bangor. Like George Abbot, then Archbishop of Canterbury, Bayly could be described as a conforming Calvinist, though despite the similarity of their churchmanship, Abbot is said to have opposed Bayly's appointment to Bangor. Bayly was outspoken in his criticism of the Catholic sympathies of some at Court ¹⁷⁵ in his funeral sermon for Prince Henry in 1612; in 1621 he was actually imprisoned for voicing opposition to the Spanish marriage and the Book of Sports. He obtained release through the good offices of Prince Charles and the Lord Keeper, Bishop Williams. *The Practice of Piety* was a classic of Calvinist piety; it reached its 25th edition in 1630 and continued to be reprinted for over a century. As well as English editions, it was published in French (1625), German (1629), Welsh (1630), Polish (1647), American Indian (1665)

and Romaunsch (1668). Among the many influenced by it was John Bunyan. The work will be discussed in Chapter 8. *

Bishop Bayly's Puritan outlook did not make him popular in North Wales. He certainly ran into a number of disputes. In 1626, his conduct was the subject of a report to the House of Commons. The substance of the complaints against him may be summarised under four headings:

1. Simony;
2. Incontinency;
3. Licensing incestuous marriages (i.e. within the prohibited degrees);
4. Ordaining unworthy ministers and giving them benefices.¹⁷⁶

The charges of incontinency involved 'many particular and foul' acts of fornication (including one within the locked doors of a church) and the fathering of bastards. The fuller examination against him which the Commons made produced additional charges of allowing his cathedral to fall into disrepair, exacting exorbitant fees for funerals and pew-rents, and speaking intemperately, both from the pulpit and in private, against persons of quality, including his own dean.¹⁷⁷ The latter was Edmund Griffith, who became Bishop of Bangor in 1634. Concerning ordinations, Bayly's candidates are said to have included a pedlar, a domestic servant, a sexton, an alehouse-keeper, and a common apparitor, while he was accused of conferring livings on 'some who cannot read the service nor preach in the language of that country, and others meanly learned.'¹⁷⁸ These or similar complaints were to be heard for over a century,¹⁷⁹ and may reflect the difficulty of finding suitable candidates for some of the poorer livings; they may alternatively reflect the snobbery of the accusers. But Bayly is even said to have beneficed a minister who married 'a maidservant reputed to be with child by himself.' His practice of simony is said to have been 'proved by two witnesses.'¹⁸⁰ Bayly made a vigorous defence to the King. He admitted some negligence in requiring subscriptions to the articles from his clergy, and promised to put matters right. He had spent £600 on the repair of the Cathedral. He had 'planted grave and learned preachers all over the diocese, three or four for every one he found,' but allowed only the conformable ministers to preach. He had seen that the catechism was

*infra, p.340.

taught, and himself preached every Sunday so long as he was able. He and his clergy provided for 100 men ready for the King's service (as clergy were expected to do at that time) and he himself had been diligent about visiting, comforting, holding synods and keeping hospitality.¹⁸¹ Although Bishop Bayly incurred the hostility not only of the House of Commons but also of his colleague, Bishop Laud of St David's (who endorsed the charges against him) and many within his diocese, he escaped impeachment or grave censure and was allowed to serve out his time until his death in October 1631. He probably suffered as much as anything from his association with the Duke of Buckingham, who was heavily under attack from the Commons at the time, but he suffered the common fate of men in the middle of coming under fire from both sides. There can be no question but that he was guilty of pluralism (which was accounted a scandal, at least in theory, in that age) and nepotism. He held *in commendam* the rectories of Llanbeulan, Llantrisant and Trefdraeth in Anglesey, Llanfihangel-y-traethau in Merioneth, Llaniestyn in Caernarfonshire, and was a Comportioner of Llandinam in Montgomeryshire.¹⁸² At least his sons, for whom he obtained choice livings in the diocese, were highly educated; one of them, Thomas, became a convert to Roman Catholicism during the Interregnum.¹⁸³ Fincham describes Bayly's faults as a pugnacious temperament, a violent tongue and a partisan spirit. He remained in favour at Court, spending some time there each year, but not to the neglect of his diocese.¹⁸⁴

Lewis Bayly was succeeded by David Dolben, born in 1581 near Denbigh, and of a family of some distinction in that county. He was educated at St John's College, Cambridge, which had close links with the Diocese of Bangor, graduating M.A. in 1609. He became Vicar of Hackney in 1619, a position he retained until his death, but also received preferment in the Diocese of St Asaph as Vicar of Llangernyw (Denbighshire) and Prebendary of Faenol. He was elected Bishop of Bangor in November 1631, but already seems to have been in failing health. In June 1633, he was described as 'crazy and very sickly'¹⁸⁵ and he died in November the same year. His elevation as bishop probably owed something to his standing among the landowning families of the diocese and in reaction to his predecessor. Through his father, Robert Wynn Dolben, he was related to the Wynns of Gwydir and to John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, of the Williams family of Cochwillan and the Griffith

family of Penrhyn, though since Bishop Williams was out of favour by 1631, he can hardly have been directly responsible for Dolben's advancement. Dolben left money to his parish in Hackney, and Hebrew books to St John's College, Cambridge. To the diocese he can have left little except the nomination of the Dean of Bangor, Edmund Griffith, as his successor.¹⁸⁶

Bishop Griffith was born at Cefnamwlch in the Llyn Peninsula, of an ancient family that was apparently related to Bishop Williams of Lincoln and therefore to Bishop Dolben.¹⁸⁷ His mother, Catrin, was daughter of Sir Richard Bulkeley of Baron Hill the biggest landowner in Anglesey. Edmund Griffith was an exhibitioner of Brasenose College, Oxford, graduating M.A. in 1592. His career after ordination was spent entirely in the Diocese of Bangor, as Rector of Llandwrog (1599), Prebendary of Bangor Cathedral (1600), Rector of Llanbedrog (1604), Archdeacon of Bangor (1605) and Dean (1613). He was Dean of Bangor for twenty years before his election as bishop. He was bishop until his death in May 1637, only three and a half years later. His episcopate seems to have left few memorials. In 1634, he suspended the Vicar of Abererch, Caernarfonshire, from office for one year, though for what cause is not known, and the Court of Arches turned down the Vicar's appeal.¹⁸⁸ The Court, however, gave a more sympathetic hearing to the parishioners of Bangor, who complained that the Bishop had appointed churchwardens, contrary to custom, and charged the parish for repairing the church and providing books and ornaments, expenses hitherto defrayed by the Bishop, Dean and Chapter. Three parishioners had been excommunicated for non-payment, but Sir John Lambe, Dean of the Arches, ordered that they should be absolved.¹⁸⁹

When the first returns were sent in from the diocese to Archbishop Laud in 1633, Bangor was vacant through the death of Bishop Dolben.¹⁹⁰ Although Bishop Griffith had succeeded the following year, there was still no return from Bangor, along with Coventry and Lichfield, Worcester, and the vacant see of Hereford.¹⁹¹ Bangor, Coventry and Lichfield, and Worcester again failed to make returns in 1635.¹⁹² This suggests that Griffith was not co-operating very actively in Archbishop Laud's policy, and it is at least possible that he was encouraged in this by his cousin, Bishop Williams, who had tried to take an independent line in the Lincoln diocese. In 1636, however, a return was made, which noted that catechising was 'quite out of use in those remote

parts,¹⁹³ despite any efforts Bishop Bayly may have made. Laud added his own significant comment:

And I would say for this and the other dioceses in Wales that much more might be done in a church way if they were not overborne by the proceedings of the Council of the Marches there. And this present year my commissioners for my metropolitical visitation there complain unto me that the power which belongs to my place hath been in them very much wronged and impeded by that Court.¹⁹⁴

William Roberts, who succeeded Edmund Griffith, claimed descent from one of the royal tribes of Gwynedd, and his family owned land at Llandyrnog, Denbighshire, where he was probably born in 1585. He was educated at Queens' College, Cambridge, of which he became a fellow. His career in the Church was at first spent in England, as a Prebendary of Lincoln and Sub-dean of Wells (1629 - 37). He is said to have won the favour of Archbishop Laud by discovering Church goods to the value of £1,000. While Bishop of Bangor, he held *in commendam* the rectories of Llandyrnog and Llanrhaeadr-yng-Nghinmeirch and the archdeaconries of Bangor and Anglesey. He described the 'poor cathedral church of Bangor' as 'not having a penny of yearly value to support the walls, much less to buy utensils.' That was in 1639, before the upheaval of the Civil War. Bishop Roberts left £100 in his will to the cathedral, and an equal sum to Queens' College, Cambridge, and Jesus College, Oxford, as exhibitions for poor scholars from the Diocese of Bangor.

In 1637, Bishop Roberts had been too recently consecrated to make a report to Laud on the diocese.¹⁹⁵ In 1638, he reported two matters of concern. His predecessors had let for several lives virtually all the material possessions of the see 'to the very mill that grinds his corn.' Any 'By reason of the poverty of the place all clergymen of hope and worth seek preferment elsewhere.' The bishop was forced to consider for ordination men weak in learning, or else see livings fall vacant for want of a minister.¹⁹⁶ This makes an interesting comment on the accusations against Bishop Bayly ten years before. Laud was sensitive on the letting out of Church property for lives, and had forbidden Bishop Griffith to do so in 1634; land was to be let only for twenty-one

years, and existing tenants were to submit a survey of their holdings.¹⁹⁷ These guidelines had evidently come too late to avert the damage.

Roberts was Bishop of Bangor during the Civil War, and was, in fact, one of the few bishops who survived to the Restoration. His bishopric was of course sequestered, but he lost his personal estates as well. He seems to have lived, for a time at least, at Llanelidan in Denbighshire. His property was restored in 1660, and he quickly recommenced services in the cathedral and settled turns for preaching. He died in August 1665 at his rectory of Llandyrnog in Denbighshire, and was buried in the chancel of the church. He was then about 80 years old.

In North Wales, therefore, the bishops from the accession of James I to the Civil War were all Welshmen, with the possible exception of Lewis Bayly, and John Hanmer, who was from the Salopian part of St Asaph diocese. Richard Parry is the only one at this time known to have had his schooling outside Wales; all were graduates of Oxford or Cambridge, and all were men of some academic distinction, some of them former fellows of colleges, but none of them professors or heads of houses. Both Elizabeth and James I preferred to appoint men to bishoprics who already had experience of government as heads of colleges, deans or archdeacons.¹⁹⁸ At the beginning of her reign, the Queen had to fill the Episcopal bench with what material was available, and the careers of many of her appointees had been interrupted under Queen Mary. Even so, Young had had experience as Precentor (in effect Vice-Dean) at St David's and Thomas Davies was Custos of Bangor during the Interregnum. Thereafter, the Welsh bishops make something of an exception to the rule: Parry and Griffith had been deans of Bangor, Blethin Archdeacon of Brecon; Morgan had something of a quasi-professorial role in translating the Scriptures. But Laud was the only Oxbridge Head of House to be appointed to a Welsh bishopric in this period. Apart from John Hanmer and William Roberts, all had held parochial appointments in Wales before becoming bishops; Bishop Roberts was unusual in having had no known parochial experience before his elevation. Their careers all followed a steady rise up the clerical ladder - a distinguished university career, and usually a parochial appointment to which sinecure or cathedral appointments were added before they attained Episcopal rank.

William Morgan, in Queen Elizabeth's time, the most distinguished of them all, was the only example of a (relatively) 'poor boy made good.' John Owen came from a clerical family. The rest all came from landowning families, or in Richard Parry's case, one at least able to send him away to school in London. In this respect, the Welsh bishops differed from their English counterparts, who came mostly from the middle and lower middle classes.¹⁹⁹ However, it must be borne in mind that the term 'gentry' covered a wider spectrum of society in Wales, while the middle classes were relatively few in number. Because of their lack of distinction, it may be wondered whether David Dolben and Edmund Griffith owed their promotion more to their family connections than their real ability. But Bishop Dolben was in ill-health, and died at the comparatively early age (for a cleric) of 52. Such family connections could be important in helping to establish a working relationship with the leading laity. The bishops were not unfavourably disposed towards the landowning class, though the leasing of Church property was a vexed question, but their family background at least helped them to understand the aspirations of the landowners. It was perhaps not a coincidence that it was the two bishops without family connections among the Welsh gentry - Morgan of St Asaph and Bayly of Bangor - who became involved in disputes with landowners - particularly with the rapacious Sir John Wynn of Gwydir. Both bishops came into dispute with him over the lease of Church land - Morgan over the rectory of Llanrwst, Bayly that of Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd. Bayly and Sir John were able to patch up their differences. The Bishop gave the Wynns active support, even from the pulpit, in the Caernarfonshire election of 1620.²⁰⁰ The Wynn candidate, Sir Richard (Sir John's eldest son), lost this election to a Griffith of Cefnamwlch, to which family Edmund, then Dean of Bangor, belonged. It is not difficult to imagine repercussions of this political feud reaching the Cathedral close, where bishop and dean became involved in a lawsuit over a bequest to maintain scholars and choristers at the cathedral.²⁰¹

Apart from William Morgan, Lewis Bayly was the most distinguished of the North Welsh bishops of this period, the only one who could claim an international reputation on the strength of *The Practice of Piety*. The other bishops seem to have been worthy rather than eminent.

George Carleton, who succeeded as Bishop of Llandaff in 1618, was a native of Northumberland. Born in 1559, he graduated from St Edmund Hall, Oxford, and became a fellow of Merton College in 1580. He was Vicar of Mayfield, Sussex (1589 - 1605) and Prebendary of St Dubritius in Llandaff Cathedral, though apparently only a short time before his elevation as bishop in 1618.²⁰² Carleton was a scholar of international repute. In 1613, he published what was probably his most significant work *Consensus Ecclesiae Catholicae contra Tridentos*. He was chosen as one of the four English representatives at the Synod of Dort (1618). He was described as 'a severe Calvinist',²⁰³ but nevertheless, at Dort, upheld episcopacy against parity of ministers, and a less extreme doctrine of predestination than that held by a majority of the Synod. Carleton's part at Dort was praised by the Dutch Estates, and King James expressed his approval by translating him to Chichester in 1619, where he remained until his death in 1628. His connection with the Diocese of Llandaff was therefore a short one, and his time largely occupied with the Synod of Dort. At least fourteen publications are credited to him though only one of them from his time at Llandaff.

Carleton was succeeded at Llandaff by Theophilus Field, son of the prominent London Puritan clergyman, John Field. He was educated at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, where he became a fellow in 1598. Subsequently, he held livings in Sussex (possibly Carleton's old parish of Mayfield), Suffolk and Kent. He became Chaplain to King James and to Lord Chancellor Bacon, and it was through the influence of Bacon, and the rising favourite, George Villiers, Earl (and later Duke) of Buckingham, that he was advanced to Llandaff in 1619. Bacon was impeached for corruption in 1621, and Field's name was sullied by having, as his chaplain, acted as broker in receiving a bribe of £5,000.²⁰⁴ Field cleared himself of bribery before the House of Lords, but had to submit to an admonition from Archbishop Abbot before the Houses of Convocation. Such a disgrace might well have blighted his further prospects, but he retained Buckingham's favour, by means of which, in September 1627, he was promoted to St David's. Field's letter to Buckingham of August 1627 is a singularly nauseating piece of sycophancy, even allowing for the conventions of the age. In it, he compared the Duke with 'God Himself, who very oft as He passeth by and seems to turn from us, leaves a blessing behind' - the same day that his patron captured St Martin's, he was elected to St David's. He 'burned with desire' to turn soldier and encourage soldiers

to cry 'St George' and pray and fight for the Duke.²⁰⁵ All this was in connection with Buckingham's disastrous expedition to La Rochelle. Field showed what he really thought of St David's by lingering at Broad Sanctuary, Westminster, until 1629, complaining of his 'want of health and means of recovery in that desolate place, his diocese, where there is not so much as a leech to cure a sick horse.'²⁰⁶ However, in 1630 he got round to holding a visitation of the Cathedral Chapter, confirming the acts and statutes of his predecessors and, with the consent of the Chapter, ordering a whitewash of the Cathedral. It is to Field's credit that he showed concern for the Collegiate Church of Brecon, which was almost a second cathedral, and the bishop's house in Brecon, damaged in a storm in 1627, and to this end he obtained a back-dating of the grant of temporalities.²⁰⁷ Field tried to improve the revenues of the diocese by obtaining a perpetual grant of the rectory of Abergwili, Carmarthenshire, in which parish the Bishop's Palace was situated. But he met with opposition from the Rector, the Dean and Canons of Windsor (the patrons), and the sitting tenant, Sir Thomas Canon. Laud (by now Bishop of London) persuaded Field that such a grant would be void in law, but promised 'to make addition to that poor bishopric another way.'²⁰⁸ This care for Church property probably raised Field in Laud's estimation. After the assassination of Buckingham (1628) he transferred his flattery to the Secretary of State, Lord Dorchester, whom he described as 'happier than the Angel of Bethesda, he had rendered the turbid waters limpid for him.'²⁰⁹ Like Owen at St Asaph, Field had no great success in persuading his clergy to contribute to the repair of St Paul's.²¹⁰ But in December 1635, he at last obtained his wish for an English diocese, when he was translated to Hereford, though he only lived to enjoy it for six months. Whatever his shortcomings, Bishop Field was a writer of some distinction; his most important work was probably *A Christian Preparation to the Lord's Supper*, published while he was Bishop of Llandaff in 1624. He was here following in a Puritan tradition which encouraged self-examination before receiving Holy Communion.²¹¹

Field's successor as Bishop of Llandaff was the Scot, William Murray. Murray studied at Trinity College, Cambridge, graduating B.A. in 1597/8 and M.A. from King's in 1601. He became a fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge, from which he graduated D.D. in 1621. He held prebends in Wells and Exeter Cathedrals before

becoming Bishop of Kilfenora in Ireland in 1622. In 1627, he was translated to Llandaff.²¹² Murray improved the finances of the diocese by obtaining from the King his interest in the rectory of Bassaleg, Monmouthshire, granted by Bishop William Blethin to the Crown in 1582 for a hundred years.²¹³ Bishop Murray held the rectory of Bedwas, Monmouthshire, *in commendam*, from 1636. He died in February 1639/40 and was buried in Mathern, Monmouthshire, of which he was sinecure rector.

In his return to Laud for 1633, Murray certified that there was not one 'refractory nonconformist or schismatical minister' in the diocese. There were only two lecturers, both licensed preachers.²¹⁴ In 1634, however, when he visited his diocese in person, he discovered nonconformity at St Mary's, Cardiff, involving both the Vicar, William Erbury, and his Curate, Walter Cradock. They were 'very disobedient' and preached 'schismatically and dangerously.' Cradock was described as a 'bold, ignorant young fellow' and Murray suspended him from preaching. The Bishop objected specifically to Cradock using in the pulpit the passage that 'God so loved the world that for it He sent His Son to live like a slave and die like a beast.' This he found 'base and un-Christian.'²¹⁵ Theological tastes obviously differ, for many might find it no more than an emotional rendering of phrases from St John and St Paul. In 1635, Murray reported on both Erbury and also William Wroth, Rector of Llanfaches, Monmouthshire. Since they persisted in their 'schismatical courses', he had drawn up articles against them in the Court of High Commission.²¹⁶ The following year, Murray merely noted that the case against them was proceeding so slowly that they were encouraged to persist in their ways and for their followers to judge them faultless.²¹⁷ In 1637, he reported finding not one schismatical minister or nonconformist in the diocese. God had blessed his endeavours to settle the rights and profits of the bishopric.²¹⁸ In 1638, he reported that Wroth had submitted, but Erbury would neither submit nor give satisfaction to the parishioners whom he had offended. He had, therefore, resigned his living and left the diocese.²¹⁹ In 1639, he reported that all was well. It is remarkable that he made no comment in any of his reports on the Roman Catholics in Monmouthshire, perhaps because their presence there was a long-standing problem to which he simply turned a blind eye. Cradock, Erbury, and Wroth are usually regarded as the pioneers of nonconformity in the Diocese of Llandaff if not in the whole of Wales. Bishop Murray was probably unaware of the problems that lay

ahead. Murray made some improvements at Llandaff Cathedral, chiefly a provision that a sermon would be preached on the first Sunday of each month by a prebendary or sufficient deputy.²²⁰

It may be noted here that although Bangor, Llandaff and St David's all certified in 1639 that all was well according to His Majesty's instructions, and likewise the border diocese of Gloucester,²²¹ in the border diocese of Hereford, the presence of Brownists (Separatists) was noted in the parts which adjoined Wales; when enquiries were made, 'they slip out into another diocese'²²² (across the Welsh border?) It is certainly significant that the only instances of nonconformity noted in these reports to Laud should have come from the English side of the Welsh border, or from places like Cardiff and Llanfaches (between Chepstow and Newport) where English influence was strong. It was also noted that the Diocese of Hereford had suffered from frequent changes of bishop, and that even in his short time there, Bishop Field had been hampered in residence by his duties as Clerk of the Closet.²²³ Bangor may also have suffered from frequent changes of bishop, and St David's by the non-residence of the diocesan.

Murray was Bishop of Llandaff throughout the whole of Laud's supremacy, and whatever the latter's policy towards Wales, the See of Llandaff had to wait almost until his fall for a Welshman as bishop. Morgan Owen, who was elected on 28 February 1639/40²²⁴ - days rather than weeks after his predecessor's death - was born about 1585 at Y Lasallt, Myddfai, Carmarthenshire. His father was the Revd Owen Rees, but his family were physicians rather than clergy. He studied first at Jesus College, Oxford, before graduating B.A. from New College in 1613 and M.A. from Hart Hall in 1616; he received his D.D. from Jesus College in 1636. He served first in the Diocese of St David's as Rector of Port Eynon (1619), Prebendary of St David's (1623), Deputy Chancellor of Carmarthen (1624) and Precentor of St David's (1637). As well as being Bishop of Llandaff, Owen was Rector of Newton Nottage near Porthcawl, and Bedwas, Monmouthshire. He enjoyed the favour of Archbishop Laud and owed something both of his rise and subsequent misfortunes, to the connection. He first came to Laud's notice when the latter was Bishop of St David's and Owen served as his Chaplain. Some fifteen years later in 1637, Owen won Laud's approval by paying for the enclosure of the South yard of St Mary's Church, Oxford, and

erecting the porch leading to the High Street with its statue of the Virgin and Child - which gave much offence to the Puritans. Owen became bishop at a stormy time. On 4 August 1641, he was impeached and sent to the Tower for his part in promulgating the canons of 1640. He was released in the Autumn, only to be sent back in December as one of the signatories of Archbishop Williams' petition. According to Phillips,²²⁵ Owen pleaded that he had signed 'through ignorance and indiscretion, and that he had no designs to overthrow the fundamental laws of the land.'

But the plea availed him little. Along with the other signatories he was found guilty of *praemunire* and his estates forfeited, apart from an allowance of £200 p.a. When his palace at Mathern, Monmouthshire, was seized, he retired to his family property at Y Lasallt. Here the Revd Rhys Prichard, the poet-priest of Llandingad, near Llandovery, visited him, and together they went to St David's, perhaps on a kind of pilgrimage. Bishop Owen died at Y Lasallt on 5 March 1644/5, and according to the inscription on his tomb in Myddfai Church, his death was hastened by news of Archbishop Laud's execution (10 January 1644/5). At least he was spared seeing the worst devastation of the Civil War in his diocese. He bequeathed £20 p.a. to his old school, the grammar school at Carmarthen.

Richard Milbourne, who succeeded Rudd at St David's in 1615, came from Ullerbank, Talkin, Cumberland. He studied at Queens' College, Cambridge, graduating B.A. in 1581, M.A. in 1585 and D.D. in 1601. He was a fellow of Queens' College 1582 - 93. He served as Rector of Sevenoaks, Kent (1591 - 1614), Cheam, Surrey (1611), Goudhurst, Kent (1612 - 13) and was Dean of Rochester (1611 - 15). He was also Chaplain to Prince Henry. He seems to have left little lasting mark during his six years as Bishop of St David's (1615 - 21). In 1621, he was translated to Carlisle, where he died and was buried in 1624. His brother and son, both called Leonard, were in the sacred ministry; they were beneficed in the Carlisle diocese, and seem to have felt no attraction to Wales.²²⁶

Milbourne was succeeded at St David's by William Laud. It is not possible here fully to discuss Laud's wider policy for the Church and the Nation. The best study of his career remains that by Hugh Trevor Roper, who wisely counsels against trying to sum up his policy in an epigram - 'What single definition can embrace his comprehensive social ideal and his narrow-minded application of it: his tolerant theology and his

intolerant methods... the social justice which he advocated and the savage punishments which he inflicted?²²⁷ Part of the greatness of Trevor Roper's study was to show how Laud's policy of 'the beauty of holiness' (for which he is so much admired by High Churchmen) was subsumed to an anachronistic policy of attempting to restore the Church to something of the place of influence it had enjoyed before the Reformation. At the time of his elevation, he was Dean of Gloucester (like Anthony Rudd before him) and there was an expectation that he would be promoted as Dean of Westminster.²²⁸ John Williams, however, insisted on retaining Westminster when he was promoted Bishop of Lincoln, to Laud's lasting chagrin; even Williams' support, along with that of Prince Charles and Buckingham, for Laud to become Bishop of St David's did not endear him. But if Laud accepted St David's as a consolation prize, it did not stop him attending to his duties diligently. He resigned as President of St John's College, Oxford, even though the King would have allowed him to remain;²²⁹ but he held a prebend of Westminster and that of Llanbister in the Collegiate Church of Brecon *in commendam*, together with the parishes of Creeke, Northamptonshire, and Ibstock, Leicestershire. From his diary, it is possible to follow Laud on his two visits to his diocese. He 'first entered Wales' on 5 July 1622²³⁰ and began his return journey on 15 August. During that time he held visitations and preached at Brecon (9 July), St David's (24 - 25 July) and Carmarthen (6 - 7 August), while the Chancellor and Laud's commissioners visited further afield at Emlyn (16 - 17 July), and Haverfordwest (19 - 20 July).²³¹ Three years later, on 15 August 1625, Laud again set out for Wales, preached at Brecon on the 21st and reached the Bishop's Palace at Abergwili on the 24th. Laud had repaired the palace and, at his own expense, built an oratory which he furnished with a rich gift of communion plate. He consecrated this chapel on 28 August, dedicating it to St John the Baptist, the patron saint of his college at Oxford; looking at the Calendar, he noted the fortunate coincidence that it was the Eve of the Beheading of St John the Baptist. On this occasion, he remained in Wales until 11 November, preaching in Carmarthen on 11 September and 9 October.²³² Two periods of residence in five years as bishop, the first of six weeks, the second of three months, are not in themselves a very impressive record; but Laud was much involved in national affairs - in the role of the Jacobean courtier bishop - not as a great officer of state, but a trusted adviser in matters of public concern. In May 1622, the

famous dispute took place with Fisher the Jesuit; Laud's reply was one of the most notable defences of the Church of England against Rome in that period. It was published originally under the initials R.B. - those of Laud's Chaplain, Richard Bayly, whom he promoted as Vicar of Llanbister, Radnorshire, and Chancellor of St David's, and who later became Dean of Salisbury. In 1625 - 6, Laud was busy defending Richard Montague (later Bishop of Chichester) who was under attack from the Puritans, and also his patron, the Duke of Buckingham. It was probably the latter who secured for Laud the favour of the King, whose speeches to Parliament on 29 March and 11 May 1626 he drafted. In July 1626, Laud was translated to Bath and Wells in succession to Arthur Lake.

Laud's concern with Romanism also led him to write a refutation (which remained unpublished) of a tract on transubstantiation by a Capuchin friar.²³³ He also made a comprehensive enquiry into recusants and non-communicants in the diocese. Laud's diary gives some interesting insights into conditions in the diocese; for instance, on 24 August 1625 on his way to Abergwili, his coach twice turned over, once with himself inside.²³⁴ At Michaelmas that year, 'One only person desired to receive holy orders from me, and he found to be unfit upon examination'. Laud sent him away with an exhortation, unordained.²³⁵ But whatever the difficulties of the diocese, Laud never complained about it in the way his two successors were to do. Indeed, his diary gives one unusually idyllic glimpse of Laud:

October 10 (1625) Monday, I went on horseback up the mountains. It was a very bright day for the time of year, and so warm that on our return I and my company dined in the open air in a place called Pente Cragg [sic; Pentre-craig or Pant-y-craig?] where my registry had his country house.²³⁶

It is not fanciful to suggest that Laud developed an affection for his diocese and an understanding of the needs of the Welsh Church. These included the encouragement and promotion of good Welsh churchmen, supplemented by good outsiders who would serve diligently in Wales - as Laud himself had done. The former included John Owen, William Roberts, and Morgan Owen, all appointed to Welsh sees under Laud's supremacy. The latter included William Nicholson, a graduate of Magdalen College, Oxford, who became Vicar of the important parish of Llandeilo Fawr in the month of

Laud's translation to Bath and Wells (September 1626); Nicholson learned to speak Welsh fluently, was a distinguished preacher, and rose to be Archdeacon of Brecon (1644) and Bishop of Gloucester (1661 - 72).

Laud's successor, Field, was hardly in the same class, but Laud's example, or his watchful eye, may have prompted Field to greater diligence. In 1633, Field reported to Laud that he had been resident in his diocese since the previous Spring.²³⁷ He promised to take good care to whom he gave holy orders. He had suspended a lecturer for 'inconformity'. He reported that there were few 'Roman recusants' in the diocese, but this goes against the evidence from Laud's time. In 1634, he declared that he had not been absent from his diocese two months in as many years. Lecturers were few in the diocese, but he had been driven to suspend on^e Roberts, a Welsh lecturer, probably the man referred to the previous year. There were, however, one or two others who tried to 'distemper' people driven out of the diocese. He drew attention to another serious problem

Divers impropiators in those parts have either pulled down the chancels or suffered them to fall, to the great debasing of their churches and leaving them so open and cold as that people in those mountainous parts must endure a great deal of hardness as well in churches as in their way to them.²³⁸

This is important confirmatory evidence for the picture presented by the Elizabethan bishops, and in the next century by Erasmus Saunders. In 1635, shortly after Field's translation to Hereford, it was reported that in his time of residence he had taken great pains in the diocese. He had caused two to be questioned by the Court of High Commission (one of them Roberts.) Three or four others who were suspended he had released in hope of their obedience. Two had been deprived for their 'exceeding scandalous life.' Field declared 'that there [were] few ministers in those poor and remote parts that [were] able to preach and instruct the people'.²³⁹

Field was succeeded at St David's in December 1635 by Roger Mainwaring. Though not a Welshman, Mainwaring came from the Marches, being born at Stretton, near Whitchurch, in 1590 and receiving his schooling at King's, Worcester. He went up to All Souls' College, Oxford, graduating B.A. in 1608, M.A. in 1611, B.D. and D.D. in 1625. In 1616 he became Rector of St Giles-in-the-Fields, and ten years later

Chaplain to King Charles. In that capacity, he preached two sermons at Court in July 1627 in which he upheld the King's right to levy taxes without the consent of Parliament. These sermons were printed the following month. The next year, a storm broke over Mainwaring's head. He was impeached for 'endeavouring to destroy the King and the kingdom by his divinity'. He was sentenced to imprisonment, a fine of £1,000 and suspension from office for three years; also to be disabled from holding any ecclesiastical dignity or secular office. The King was not pleased with his Chaplain and suppressed his book by proclamation, remarking, 'He that will preach more than he can prove, let him suffer for it'.²⁴⁰ But when Parliament was dissolved in 1629, Mainwaring was released from the Fleet prison, pardoned, and thereafter rewarded with the livings of Stanford Rivers (Essex), Muckleton (Staffordshire), and Mugginton (Derbyshire). In 1633, he became Dean of Worcester and in 1635 Bishop of St David's. One record surviving from his episcopate is his register of ordinations and appointments.²⁴¹ Mainwaring may have been more conscientious in keeping such records than his predecessors.²⁴²

By the time of the 1636 returns to Laud, Mainwaring had (like his predecessor, belatedly) taken up residence and promised to see that all was in order. He had inhibited Marmaduke Matthews, Vicar of Penmaen, in Gower, later a prominent Puritan, for preaching against observing holy days 'with divers other as fond of profane opinions'; threat of summons before the Court of High Commission hung over him. Bishop Rudd's son, now a baronet, and described as a 'sober gentleman', had built a chapel at his own expense. Archbishop Laud proposed to consecrate this, and since (not being a peer of the realm) he was not entitled to a private chaplain, the minister of the parish should be allowed to officiate there.²⁴³ It is good to take note of one landowner, at least, who was building a church and not letting one fall into ruin. In 1637, Mainwaring was reported to be unwell, and had come to London for treatment. But he reported that all the King's commands were being observed in the diocese.²⁴⁴ In 1638, he was still in London for 'the change of air'. The diocese was 'a little out of quiet' through some preachers meddling with the 'nice questions' on which the King had forbidden discussion.²⁴⁵ The report was imperfect - 'No wonder', Laud added in a marginal comment, 'since the Bishop's sickness gives him an excuse for absence!'²⁴⁶ As has been seen, in 1639, Mainwaring reported that all was well. But the reports

from St David's show how important it was that the bishop should be resident, and there is more than a hint of nonconformity in the background, again in the parts (like Gower) where English influence was strongest.

It is difficult to resist the conclusion that, whatever Mainwaring's virtues, his appointment was a mistake. The Short Parliament in its brief session in 1640 found time to question the validity of his appointment, and deprived him of his seat in the House of Lords. The Long Parliament imprisoned him and deprived him of all his preferments, including St Giles-in-the-Fields, which he had hitherto retained. On his release, he lived quietly, and virtually in poverty. Nevertheless, a return of clergy for the archdeaconry of Brecon in 1688 ²⁴⁷ shows that among those in the sacred ministry forty years later were some ordained or instituted by Bishop Mainwaring long after his official suspension.²⁴⁸ This argues that Mainwaring went on quietly acting as bishop and was accepted as such by his clergy. He was befriended in these last years by Sir Henry Herbert, sometime Master of the Revels, and related to the Herberts of Montgomery. Mainwaring died at Carmarthen on 1 July 1653 and was buried in the Collegiate Church at Brecon. For two years before his death, he is said to have prayed God to forgive his adversaries and his friends to forget them.

Elizabeth I's policy had been to appoint men as bishops who had local knowledge, and there were special reasons for appointing men to the Welsh sees who had knowledge of Wales. 'Every bishop of Bangor and St Asaph between 1558 and 1646 had long-standing Welsh connections.'²⁴⁹ South Wales, for the most part, had Welsh bishops under Elizabeth, but the policy changed under the Stuarts, and it was not until Morgan Owen that another genuinely Welsh bishop was appointed.²⁵⁰ The Welsh bishops, whatever their origin, seem to have established good relations with the local gentry, though Morgan and Bayly did run into a certain amount of friction.

It is to their credit that, in contrast with so many pre-Reformation bishops, they were resident. Carleton and Laud were special cases; Milburne is an unknown quantity;²⁵¹ Field and Mainwaring needed some pressure before taking up residence at St David's. Only Vaughan and Laud rose to positions of real leadership in the Church, but Bayly, Milburne and Carleton were chaplains to successive Princes of Wales; Laud, Hanmer and Field all served as chaplains to James I,²⁵² without neglecting their other duties.

Several, including Richard Davies and William Hughes, were prepared to serve long terms of office in poorly paid sees where many amenities were lacking. Some at least, such as Henry Rowlands, seem to have used their local knowledge and experience to develop the best returns from their limited resources. Although there is an absence of conclusive evidence, to decide the issue, it seems a reasonable assumption that Episcopal households were turned into warmer places (socially) and more hospitable than before through the residence of bishops and the presence of their wives.²⁵³ The downside of Episcopal marriage was the need to provide for children, and Richard Davies and Lewis Bayly certainly used the Church's assets to this end. Without *commendams* and consequent pluralism and non-residence, it is difficult to see how a Welsh bishop could have managed unless he had considerable private means. Rudd was charged with neglecting his official residences,²⁵⁴ Bayly with neglecting his cathedral fabric.²⁵⁵ Several bishops were accused of letting out land at terms detrimental in the long run - but the Welsh bishops differed little in this from occupants of richer English sees.²⁵⁶ But Blethin, Rowlands and Morgan all laboured for the life and fabric of their respective cathedrals; Laud rebuilt the palace at Abergwili.

One way and another, most of the Welsh bishops were distinguished communicators of the faith. Vaughan and Rudd have been singled out as great preachers, but the duty of preaching seems generally to have been taken seriously. Carleton and Laud wrote important defences of the reformed faith; Bayly wrote a devotional classic, while others, like Babington and Field, wrote lesser spiritual works. But without question, the most important contribution to communicating the faith was the work of the North Wales bishops, led by William Morgan, in translating the Scriptures into Welsh. How far they achieved the ideal of establishing a caring, preaching ministry will be discussed in the following chapters. But it may be noted that Fincham considers Bayly, for all the criticisms levelled against him, as one of the bishops who 'made a decisive contribution to clerical standards in their dioceses.'²⁵⁷

It has already been remarked that 'Arminianism' made little impact in Wales before the Civil War. It may be questioned how far any of the bishops of this period were in any real sense 'Arminian' or 'Laudian'. Godwin's enforcement of the Book of Sports makes him in this respect non-Puritan. John Owen and William Roberts had Laud's approval for their care for Church property. Murray and Field ejected a few

nonconformists, but the Welsh bishops were not conspicuous for enforcing anti-Puritan measures;²⁵⁸ none of the Jacobean bishops is known to have sat in the Court of High Commission.²⁵⁹ Mainwaring was an advocate of the Divine Right of Kings rather than a theological Arminian. Morgan Owen was perhaps the first genuine Arminian bishop in Wales (apart, of course, from Laud himself), and his appointment (1640) came too late to have much impact before the Civil War. Whether the absence of an overtly Arminian policy in Wales helped to keep most of the landowning classes on board in the post-1640 crisis is an unanswerable question. But the general absence of Episcopal arrogance such as that displayed by Bishop Wren of Norwich²⁶⁰ almost certainly helped to preserve respect for the episcopate in Welsh society. The resurgence of this form of clericalism among many English clergy probably contributed as much as Arminian theology or the altar controversy to the antagonism against the Laudians in the build up to the Civil War.²⁶¹

As well as the differences between England and Wales over the extent of Arminianism and Puritanism, a contrast emerged under the Stuarts between North and South Wales. The characteristic bishop in North Wales was a Welshman who, despite sometimes having had a career in England, devoted the rest of his ministry, long or short, to his Welsh diocese. Morgan Owen of Llandaff was also such. The other bishops in South Wales were not Welshmen, though they might have had some knowledge of Wales, and to whom a Welsh bishopric was one rung on the episcopal ladder – to Laud the first, to Murray the last. But the English (or Scottish) origins of the South Wales bishops do not seem to have had obviously detrimental effects. Like their opposite numbers in North Wales, they seem either to have established a sympathetic bond with their people (like Laud and Mainwaring) or (like Field and Murray) to have stayed long enough to develop a real understanding of their diocese and its needs. Carleton and Milburne are, perhaps, exceptions, but neither can be called an unworthy bishop.

Notes - Part III

153. Fincham, *op.cit.*, pp.296 - 98. Fincham makes the valuable points that James made more use of bishops as royal advisers (*ibid*) and that the *iure divino* theory of episcopacy fitted in nicely with the doctrine of the Diving Right of Kings (p.6).
154. Collinson, *Religion of Protestants (supra)*, p.8. Fincham, *op.cit.*, p.303 says, 'The real watershed of the early Stuart Church occurred in 1625, for the new Caroline regime rejected Jacobean ideals of unity and reconciliation in favour of ceremonial order and uniformity of public worship'.
155. ODCC: Millenary Petition. See also Barrie Williams, *The Work of Archbishop John Williams* (Sutton Courtenay, 1980) pp.362 ff.
156. Barrie Williams, *op.cit.*, p.69.
157. ODCC: Dort, Synod of.
158. Fincham, *op.cit.*, pp.212 ff. See also n.80 *supra*
159. DNB
160. CSPD, 17.6.29.
161. CSPD 20.12.23, 27.12.23, 1.2.23/4, 5.2.1623/4.
162. CSPD 24.1.34/5.
163. CSPD 16.5.1635.
164. CSPD February (?) 1636/7.
165. CSPD 5.5.1639.
166. CSPD 4.10.1639.
167. LP. MS. 943, p.296
168. *Ibid.*, pp.255, 263, 281, 287.
169. *Ibid.*, pp.249, 255.
170. *Ibid.*, p.271
171. Siân Victory, *The Celtic Church in Wales* (London 1977), p.25.
172. e.g. the restoration of St Cybi's Well at Llangybi, Caernarfonshire.
173. Patrick Collinson in 'Elizabethan and Jacobean Puritanism as forms of popular culture' (*supra*) pp.50 ff. makes the interesting suggestion that the Puritan habit of 'gadding' to sermons, prophesyings, etc., had a similar psychological and spiritual satisfaction as going on pilgrimage had for Catholics - both were very much social events.
174. CSPD undated 1640.
175. Chiefly the Howard family, led by the Earl of Northampton.
176. CSPD 17.4.1626.
177. CSPD 16.6.1626.
178. *Ibid.*

- 179.From Erasmus Saunders, but also Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*.
- 180.CSPD 16.6.1626.
- 181.CSPD 7.4.30.
- 182.AO
- 183.AC
- 184.op.cit. p.32
- 185.CSPD 22.5.1633.
- 186.In canon law, a bishop has no right to nominate his successor, but presumably the King and his advisers paid regard to Bishop Dolben's views.
- 187.Bishop Williams was related through his mother, Ellen Wynn, to the Wynns of Gwydir, and through his grandmother to the Griffiths of Penrhyn, who were apparently related to the Griffiths of Cefnamwlch.
- 188.CSPD 15.1.1634/5.
- 189.CSPD 20.1.1636/7.
- 190.LP MS.943, p.250.
- 191.*Ibid.*, p.257.
- 192.*Ibid.*, p.265.
- 193.*Ibid.*, pp.271 - 2.
- 194.*Ibid.*, p.272.
- 195.LP MS 943, p.281.
- 196.*Ibid.*, p.285.
- 197.*Ibid.*, pp. 337 - 8. See also n.18 *supra* (Part I).
- 198.Fincham, *op.cit.*, p.20
- 199.*Ibid.*, p.19.
- 200.Gwynfor Jones, 'Bishop Lewis Bayly and the Wynns of Gwydir', in *WHR*, Vol.VI, No.4, December 1973, pp.408 - 12.
- 201.*Ibid.*, p.415.
- 202.Le Neve, *Fasti*.
- 203.cit. *DNB*, from A² Wood. See also Introduction n.23
- 204.SP²D 14.120.38, 24.3.1621/2
- 205.CSPD August 1627.
- 206.CSPD 31.10.29.
- 207.CSPD 19.8.1627.
- 208.CSPD 3.1.1632/3, April 1633.
- 209.CSPD undated 1631 (?).
- 210.CSPD 24.9.1635.

211. Chalmers, *op.cit.*, pp.81 ff.
212. *AC*. Bishop Murray has no entry in *DNB*.
213. *CSPD* 7.6.1629, 28.6.1629.
214. LP MS. 943, p.29. Laud's distrust of lecturers, who were often Puritans, is well known.
215. *Ibid.*, p.256.
216. *Ibid.*, pp.263 - 4.
217. *Ibid.*, p.271.
218. *Ibid.*, p.281.
219. *Ibid.*, p.285.
220. Newell, *op.cit.* p.157.
221. LP MS. 943 p.296.
222. *Ibid.*
223. *Ibid.*, pp.264, 271.
224. *CSPD* 28.2.39/40. An election the same month as his predecessor's death suggests that Laud already had him in mind for Llandaff.
225. J. Rowland Phillips, *Memorials of the Civil War in Wales and the Marches* (London, 1874) I, p.91.
226. *AC*. There is no entry in *DNB* on Bishop Milbourne.
227. *Archbishop Laud, 1573 - 1645* (London, 1936) p.433.
228. Laud, *Diary*, ed. John Henry Parker in *Works of Archbishop Laud*, III (Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology, Oxford, 1853), pp.136 - 7.
229. *Ibid.*
230. *Ibid.*, p.139.
231. *Ibid.*, pp.139 - 40. Laud's Visitation articles enquired (among other things) whether ministers read the Prayer Book services 'without alteration or omission and at convenient hours'; whether preachers and lecturers read Divine Service and ministered the sacraments twice a year in person; whether ministers appointed any feasts, prophecies or exercises not approved by law or public authority - predictable articles against Puritanism. More significantly, perhaps, he enquired whether the Holy Table was in a convenient place in the chancel and 'whether it is so used out of time of divine service as is not agreeable to the holy use of it, as by sitting on it, throwing hats on it, writing on it, or is it abused to other prophaner use of it'. This anticipates his policy regarding the altar in the 1630s. Unfortunately, no record survives of the returns to his enquiries - A.E. Evans (ed.) : *A few Episcopal Visitation Queries with a short introduction* (Bangor 1927). Laud's Articles form the first section.
232. *Ibid.*, pp.172, 174.
233. *CSPD* 5.2.1623/4

- 234.Laud, *op.cit.*, pp.170 - 1.
- 235.*Ibid.*, p.173.
- 236.*Ibid.*, p.174.
- 237.LP MS.943, p.249. .
- 238.*Ibid.*, p.255
- 239.*Ibid.*, p.264.
- 240.cit. *DNB*.
- 241.In the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, Bishop's register No.3 (53/BR/3).
- 242.It has already been noted that Bishop Bayly promised to be more careful in taking subscriptions to the articles from his clergy. *supra*. p .68.
- 243.LP MS. 943, p.271.
- 244.*Ibid.*, p.281.
- 245.Notably the doctrine of predestination.
- 246.LP MS.943, p.285.
- 247.National Library of Wales SD/VC/1.
- 248.e.g David Williams, instituted to Cwm Du, Brecon, in 1646, and Lewis Price, ordained deacon 1645.
- 249.Fincham, *op.cit.*, p.26
- 250.Godwin, Laud and Mainwaring, with experience respectively in Somerset, Gloucestershire and Worcestershire, would not have been totally unfamiliar with South Wales.
- 251.Fincham, *op.cit.*, p.312. Milburne was resident when Bishop of Carlisle.
- 252.*Ibid.*, p.305.
- 253.It may be observed, however, that one of the most hospitable bishops of the age was John Williams of Lincoln, who presided over an all-male household at Buckden Palace.
- 254.Fincham, *op.cit.*, p.52.
- 255.The accusation was probably unjust. The cathedral roof was leaking in 1626, but Bayly claimed to have laid out £600 towards repairs. Bad relations with the Dean (Edmund Griffith) and prominent laymen like Sir John Wynn cannot have helped. M.L..Clarke, *Bangor Cathedral* (Cardiff, 1969), pp.20 - 1.
- 256.Williams of Lincoln brought a collusive suit against his predecessor, Richard Neile for allowing Nettleham Palace to fall into disrepair. Young (formerly of St. David's) was accused of making disadvantageous leases when Archbishop of York. *DNB*.
- 257.Fincham, *op.cit.*, p.311
- 258.*Ibid.*, p.215 ff. This was probably because there were, by and large, so few Puritans in Wales at this time!

259.*Ibid.*, pp.315 - 19.

260.The bishop is quoted as saying that he 'hoped to live to see the day when a minister should be as good a man as any upstart Jack gentleman in England'. Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500 - 1700* (Basingstoke, 1994), p.343.

261.Sir Thomas Myddleton of Chirk Castle, for instance, seems to have been anti-Laudian rather than anti-Anglican. Barrie Williams 'Chirk Castle in the Civil War' in *RSSR* Vol.7, Nos. 2 - 3 (1989) p.22.

THE WELSH CATHEDRAL CLERGY 1558 - 1642

The changes of the Reformation era affected the cathedrals and their clergy in unequal degrees. 'The old secular cathedrals were considered valuable enough in terms of patronage to be allowed to survive with only minor changes.'¹ All four of the Welsh cathedrals were included among these 'secular' cathedrals (i.e. those served by canons or prebendaries, not monks). The cathedrals formerly served by monks, both the medieval foundations, and the new foundations of Henry VIII, received statutes from that monarch designed to fit them better to serve the Church in the new age - fewer prebendaries (at least at the new cathedrals), fewer vicars choral, stricter conditions of residence, greater service to the community, which would include both preaching and educational work.² The secular cathedrals were gradually brought into line by pressure from Royal Visitations, but there was no wholesale revision of their statutes, which sometimes contained anomalies.³ The cathedrals faced fiercer criticism from the more radical reformers. *A View of Popish Abuses* (probably the work of the prominent London Puritan, John Field) criticised them as being over-staffed, over-resourced, and centres of crypto-Catholic practices.⁴ York Minster, Lincoln and Wells (all old secular foundations) had a complement of up to sixty prebendaries; Durham and Ely (refounded monastic cathedrals) were certainly well endowed. The Welsh cathedrals were, by comparison, much more modest - with a larger chapter, it is true, than some of the new foundations,⁵ but certainly not well endowed, and with few 'plum' prebends on offer.⁶

One respect in which the Welsh cathedrals differed from most (but not all) of those in England is that they were situated in small centres of population.⁷ Bangor is an exception to this rule - it was a centre of trade and communication in a sparsely populated diocese. Llandaff was only a few miles from Cardiff, but St. Asaph and, even more, St David's were remote from more thriving towns such as Wrexham and Carmarthen. Their location may have accorded with the spirituality attributed to the Celtic Church, of detachment from the world, but it could prove a handicap in the new ethos of service to the community. The question of residence compounded the problem. After the Reformation, prebendaries at, for instance, Durham, were encouraged to take benefices with cure of souls in the diocese⁸ - obviously a way of serving the community more directly. Prebendaries - not only in Wales - ran the risk

of being blamed for idle detachment if they were not involved in the parishes, and non-residence if they were.⁹

There was no great change of personnel in the Welsh cathedral chapters at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, apart from the ejection of the Marian Dean of St Asaph and the sundry archdeacons already noted.¹⁰ A new Dean of St Asaph was appointed in 1560, a new archdeacon in 1562. At St David's, Thomas Young resumed his position as Precentor, from which he had been ejected under Mary; to be replaced by Thomas Huet on his elevation to the bishopric. But at Bangor, Robert Evans, dean under Mary, continued in office, as did John Smith, Archdeacon of Llandaff. While Marian exiles resumed their careers and new blood was brought in, the Welsh cathedrals shared in the 'tradition and continuity' noted by David Marcombe as characteristic of cathedral chapters.¹¹

Who, then, were the men who served the Welsh cathedrals in this period?

[References to the Cathedral Clergy]

This chapter should be read in conjunction with the full table of the cathedral clergy in Volume II, similarly the chapters on the sinecure and parochial clergy, and that on the unbeneficed clergy.* References for all of the clergy are given under the benefice or office held. All the names have been cross-referenced in *Alumni Cantabrigienses* and *Oxonienses*.]

1 St Asaph

Sixty-nine clergy are known to have held cathedral appointments in St Asaph between the accession of Queen Elizabeth and the outbreak of the Civil War. This figure does not include David Dolben, who held the 'Golden Prebend' of Faenol from 1625 to 1633, and who has been dealt with as Bishop of Bangor; nor does it include Richard Davies, who was briefly a cursal prebendary from 1558 until he became bishop in 1560 (or possibly remained so until 1564).

In the eighty-two years from 1560 to 1642, there were only three Deans of St Asaph. Hugh Evans, appointed in April 1560, is reported as being resident and keeping hospitality in Bishop Davies' return. He died in office in 1587, probably aged 64, and was buried in the cathedral. His successor, Thomas Banks, held the office for forty-

* See Table of Contents, Vol.II.

seven years (1587 - 1634).¹² Andrew Morris, who succeeded him as dean, was born about 1580, and survived into the interregnum, dying about 1654.

Richard Rogers was archdeacon from 1562 to 1566; he resigned to take up a prebend of St Paul's; subsequently, he became Suffragan Bishop of Dover (1568) and Dean of Canterbury (1584); he died in 1598. In Bishop Davies' return, he was still in deacon's orders and studying at Oxford, where he took his B.D. in 1562. It is doubtful whether he had much direct contact with the diocese. His successor, Thomas Powell (1566 - 73), by contrast, was Rector of Llanfechain (1562 - 73) and a preacher. Powell gave up the archdeaconry in 1573, though he survived another sixteen years. Between 1573 and 1844, the office was held *in commendam* by the Bishop, though Anthony Earbury was archdeacon from 1599 to 1602 during an interlude between Bishop Hughes and Bishop Morgan.

The deans and archdeacons were all graduates; Richard Rogers has already been mentioned as a B.D.; Thomas Banks finally became a D.D. but only in 1628 when he had already been dean for over forty years; the rest were M.A.s. Including the deans and archdeacons, fifty-three of the sixty-nine cathedral clergy were graduates (71%). Of these, seven were D.D.s, to whom might be added David Dolben and Richard Davies; eight were B.D.s. That one-third of the graduates had a higher qualification in divinity is remarkable in itself. What is also remarkable is how, particularly towards the end of Elizabeth's reign and into the Stuart period, these divines like William Vaughan, Robert Lloyd and Simon Mostyn, held parochial appointments. Six of the clergy held the degree of B.C.L. or LL.B. Apart from George Smith (Cursal Canon, Seventh Stall, 1575), they were all in office at the beginning of the reign, confirming what is noted elsewhere - the liking for lawyers under the old régime.¹³ George Smith was also an M.A., as was Maurice Burchenshaw, who had been Prebendary of Faenol since Henry VIII's reign. There were two D.C.L.s in the set - David Yale, appointed to Faenol in 1578, who was also Chancellor of Chester, and Henry Jones, who held the third cursal prebend in 1560, and who also had two sinecures in the diocese. Twenty-seven of the cathedral clergy were M.A.s, by far the most common qualification, as well as Burchenshaw and Smith. Rice Wynn (1560) and David Nicholas (1601) are not known to have proceeded beyond the degree of B.A.

Five others of the canons were, or were possibly, university students - the names of John Griffiths, John Roberts, and John Vaughan appear in the university lists. Roger Thomas (Meliden 1599) was probably the student of that name of Jesus College, Oxford. The identification of John Saladyne (Llanfair, First Portion, 1629) with the student of that name of Exeter College, Oxford, has to be tentative; he would only have been nine years old in 1629, but his connection with Hackney makes it possible that he was a protégé of David Dolben; he was in any case of a gentle family, and may therefore have had influence behind him.

If he was, indeed, an example of a boy holding a prebend as a kind of scholarship, he would not be unique.¹⁴ David Clapham and Robert Whetell, Prebendaries respectively of Llanfair, First Portion, and Llanefydd, are both described in Bishop Davies' return as *adhuc puer*. Both are known to have been studying at Oxford in 1563, but neither is known to have been ordained and returned to the diocese; an attempt was made in 1570 to deprive Whetell of his prebend, presumably because he was not in holy orders, but he retained it until his death in 1577, when he was probably still only in his thirties. Eleven among the canons had no known university connection. Thomas Yale, Prebendary of Faenol (1564 - 78), was probably related to his successor, David, possibly as uncle and nephew; he may well have been of the ranks of the Denbighshire gentry. Thomas Twistleton, who was appointed to the sixth cursal stall under Queen Mary in 1544, probably came from the distinguished family of that name. Three men who held benefices in the diocese, though not (so far as is known) university men, were among the canons - Hugh Owen (Betws-yn-Rhos), Ellis Morrice (Llanycil), and John ap Howell (Llanddoget). William Lewen, however, Cursal Canon in 1578 and Prebendary of Llanefydd in 1596, is not known to have held a parish; Godfrey Barton (Fourth Cursal Stall, 1564) was not even in holy orders - he was deprived in 1580, probably on these grounds.

No fewer than forty-eight of the cathedral clergy are known to have held benefices with cure of souls in the diocese at some stage in their career, usually in conjunction with their canonry - 69.5% of the total. These included important urban parishes such as Mold, Welshpool, and Wrexham, prestigious parishes such as Llandegla, and, more rarely, remoter parishes such as Erbistock and Llanfechain. A group of parishes in the vicinity of St Asaph - Abergele, Caervys, Cwm and Rhuddlan - had the particular

attraction that it was possible to combine care of the parish with duties at the cathedral. It is not surprising therefore to find canons holding the rich livings of Gresford and Northop.

In addition, three canons are known to have been beneficed in Bangor diocese. Hugh Williams, the learned Rector of Llantrisant in Anglesey, held the 'Golden Prebend' of Faenol from 1633 to 1670;¹⁵ it is, perhaps no coincidence that he was sometime chaplain to his predecessor, Bishop Dolben. Richard Glynn, Archdeacon of Bangor, was Prebendary of Llanefydd from 1598 to 1617. Edmwnd Prys, versifier of the Psalms was a Cursal Canon from 1602 to 1624. The key to his appointment may lie in the translation of William Morgan from Llandaff to St Asaph in 1601. Morgan and Prys had been close friends since their days together at St John's College, Cambridge. Archdeacon Rogers is known only to have held benefices in England, and that after leaving the diocese. Ralph Kynaston (Llanfair, First Portion, 1625 - 8) was a Canon of Lichfield from 1595 to 1598. His career between 1598 and 1625 is unknown, but he may have been beneficed in England; his family were of the Shropshire gentry.

Twenty-five of the cathedral clergy also at some time held sinecure rectories in the diocese - over one-third of the total. Sinecures were relatively numerous in the diocese, and it is not surprising that the higher-placed among the clergy were able to avail themselves of them. Thomas Banks held five sinecures in the diocese at one time or another; Maurice Burchenshaw enjoyed the interesting combination of the prebend of Faenol and precentorship with the sinecure rectory of Denbigh, a prebend of Wells, and the surmastership of St Paul's School. Neither Burchenshaw nor Banks held a living with cure in the diocese, nor, so far as is known, elsewhere, but both were seriously occupied in the service of the Church, and Burchenshaw was returned as resident and hospitable at Denbigh in 1560. Jeffrey Gethin and Henry Jones both held cursal prebends and sinecures, but not (so far as is known) cure of souls; Gethin was appointed in 1546 and Jones in 1560, both early in the period under study.

As a whole, the cathedral clergy of St Asaph stand up well to scrutiny. Most were men of learning, and most undertook serious duties either at the cathedral, or in the parishes, or in education. This is consistently true throughout the period. Bishop

Goldwell had set high standards for the diocese in Queen Mary's time, and these seem to have been maintained after the Elizabethan settlement.

St Asaph. Vicars Choral

The names of a number of vicars choral of St Asaph before 1600 are known, but with several of them there are problems of identification, as indicated below.¹⁶ They will, therefore, be considered in two groups on either side of this date, though 1600 is in itself an arbitrary dividing point. Of a group of five known about the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, Griffith Wynn is known to have died in 1559; John and Ieuan (or Evan) Lloyd are known as incumbents within the diocese; John is known to have been a B.A. Richard ap Ieuan Meredith may be identical with Richard Evans, an Oxford student; Thomas Shenton is not otherwise known. Those appointed between 1560 and 1599 may have numbered thirteen. But was Geoffrey ap Robert (1560) the same as Jeffrey Roberts (1587)? Were they, more likely, father and son? Both are said to have died in 1607, so that they may be one and the same. It has been assumed that Ieuan Lloyd (1557) was not the same as Evan Lloyd (1570) - again, they may have been father and son. Again, it is assumed that Hugh Evans (1578) was not the dean, but he may have been his son. Hugh Owen (1575) became a curial canon in 1592, and has already been considered. Oliver (ap) Thomas, John Christian, Hugh Roberts and Richard Pigot are all known among the incumbents in the diocese, all subsequent to their having served as vicars choral. Numbers for this group (before 1600) must be tentative, but if sixteen are counted, excluding, on different grounds, Griffith Wynn and Hugh Owen, seven were graduates (43.75%) - four M.A.s and three B.A.s. The former include William Davies (1566), who went up to Oxford after becoming a vicar choral. Two others were possibly university students, John Christian almost certainly so. This brings the proportion of university, or possibly university, men up to 56.25%. Those without a university background include one son of the gentry (Thomas Holland) and three possible sons of cathedral canons. That the group includes three Lloyds and four Robertses suggests that family ties were strong in the group.

The picture becomes more certain after 1600. Twenty-one vicars choral are known to have been appointed subsequent to that date. The number is increased to twenty-five

if four others, who have already been considered among the canons, are included. Three of these, Gabriel Parry, John Kyffin, and Archibald Sparks, were vicars choral before becoming prebendaries; William Griffith, a cursal canon in 1598, became a vicar choral in 1618; he had been incumbent of two parishes in Montgomeryshire, which he apparently gave up about 1614.

Of the twenty-one apart from these four, fifteen are known to have been graduates - eight M.A.s, one B.D. (John Williams, 1623) and six B.A.s. However, William Bynner or Bennett (1641) only became a B.A. in 1659; probably the Civil War and the imposition of the Solemn League and Covenant on the universities caused him to defer his studies. This means a percentage of 71 for the graduate vicars choral. The proportion is increased to 76 per cent if the four who became canons are included - John Kyffin was an M.A., the other three were all B.D.s. In addition, Owen Griffith, appointed in 1600, is known to have been an Oxford student. The latter is the only one in this group to have been appointed under Queen Elizabeth. The next known appointment is that of John Ireland in 1607. Obviously, the vicars choral as a whole had high academic qualifications, but between 1620 and 1640 (virtually the reign of Charles I before the Civil War), only one of those appointed is not known to have been a graduate - William Farrant (1629); almost certainly one of a family famous among cathedral musicians in that age, though Grove's Encyclopaedia accepts the difficulty of relating the different members of the family exactly.

Of the twenty-one under consideration, fourteen held livings at some time in the diocese (66.6%), but the proportion rises to 72% with the inclusion of the four who became canons. John Ireland (already mentioned) was Headmaster of the Free School at Croydon before becoming a vicar choral; John Kyffin went on from being vicar choral to be Headmaster of Oswestry Grammar School. Teaching the choristers at St Asaph was probably one of the duties of vicars choral,¹⁷ and it is not surprising to find two career schoolmasters among them.

The vicars choral from 1600 seem, therefore, to have been a worthy band of men. Appointment was a way of attracting able men, like John Ireland and Archibald Sparks, to the diocese from far afield, several of whom went on to take parishes or cathedral

posts. For William Griffith, a man of academic distinction, a post as vicar choral perhaps offered greater attractions than two remote country parishes.

2 Bangor

Fifty prebendaries are known to have been appointed at Bangor Cathedral between 1560 and 1642. Five others became bishops, and are dealt with elsewhere. Bishop Hugh Bellot held the deanery *in commendam*, 1587 - 93. His successor, Henry Rowlands, 1593 - 98, became Bishop of Bangor, and his successor, Richard Parry, 1599 - 1604, became Bishop of St Asaph. Edmund Griffith, who was dean 1613 - 34, then became Bishop of Bangor. The last dean before the Civil War, Griffith Williams of Trefan, 1634 - 72, a prolific writer, became Bishop of Ossory in Ireland in 1641, and held the office *in commendam* with his deanery. Nicholas Robinson held the archdeaconry of Anglesey *in commendam* with the bishopric 1573 - 84. The practice of holding a senior cathedral post to supplement the income of the bishopric is a somewhat dubious one (cf. the holding of the bishopric and archdeaconry of St Asaph together.) But Henry Rowlands, Richard Parry, Edmund Griffith, and Griffith Williams were clearly all men of distinction to have moved up from the deanery to a bishopric.

Apart from the five discussed as bishops, thirty-eight of the prebendaries appointed were graduates - 76 per cent, just below the figure for St Asaph. The inclusion of the five bishops-to-be would bring the figure up to 78 per cent. The degrees they held divide into six D.D.s, five B.D.s, six D.C.L.s or LL.D.s, five B.C.L.s or LL.B.s, fifteen M.A.s and, as at St Asaph, only one B.A. The percentage of M.A.s is lower than at St Asaph (38% as compared with 50%+), and the percentage of those with legal degrees higher. It has been seen that few lawyers were appointed at St Asaph after the Elizabethan Settlement. At Bangor, it was otherwise. Six of the lawyers were in their prebends in 1560, but others were appointed in 1570, 1582, 1600, 1634 and 1636. The post of chancellor is of interest. Of five chancellors under Elizabeth, only Richard Parry (1592 - 94) ^{is} known to have been a graduate. These were followed by an M.A. and two lawyers. This possibly points to a changing rôle fulfilled by the Chancellor.¹⁸ None of the prebendaries at Bangor is thought to have been a student

but not a graduate. It is not known whether John Salisbury, Archdeacon of Anglesey, had any academic qualifications. John Price, Precentor 1578 - 82, held the prestigious parish of Llanrhuddlad; David Moythey that of Llanfairpwllgwyngyll. The latter was returned as able to preach in 1560, as was William Powell, another non-graduate; Robert Sherman (Chancellor 1595 - 1608), non-graduate) was also a preacher. The non-graduates all seem to have had responsible posts either at the cathedral or in the parishes, but it is worthy of note that the last non-graduate to be appointed was Robert Sherman in 1595 - evidence, it would seem, of rising academic standards.

Of the fifty prebendaries under discussion, forty-two are known to have held benefices in the diocese - 84 per cent. This is a higher proportion than at St Asaph. John Salisbury has already been noted as Bishop of Thetford. William Mostyn (Archdeacon of Bangor, 1633 - 72), was Rector of Christleton in Cheshire. Cuthbert Bellot, brother of Bishop Hugh Bellot, was Archdeacon of Chester. Edward Hughes, Archdeacon of Bangor (1617 - 33), was beneficed in England. William Powell was beneficed in Oxfordshire; one cannot help wondering whether it was hoped that he would improve as a preacher by studying at the university, but there is no evidence that he did so. Edmund Meyrick, Archdeacon of Bangor 1559 - 1610, was also Chancellor of St Asaph, Canon of Lichfield, and sinecure Rector of Corwen (St Asaph diocese). William Darrell and William Bowen, appointed respectively Chancellor and Treasurer in 1566, are the only ones not known to have held any other appointment.

Three of the prebendaries also held sinecures in the diocese - John Bayly (Comportioner of Llandinam), John Gwyn (Rector of Llanrhacadr-yng-Nghinmeirch), and Hugh Burches (Comportioner of Llandinam). Sinecures were less common in Bangor than in St Asaph, but Edmund Meyrick has already been noted as holding one in St Asaph; Griffith Vaughan (Treasurer 1596) held the sinecure rectory of Denbigh in St Asaph and that of Angle in St David's. It may be noted that some clerics held prebends at more than one cathedral. Edmwnd Prys, Archdeacon of Merioneth, Arthur Williams, Precentor, and Gabriel Parry, Precentor, have all been considered already as prebendaries of St Asaph. That draws attention to one of the shortcomings of the cathedral clergy. Those at Bangor, like their opposite numbers at St Asaph, were, for the most part, academically well qualified and undertaking duties in addition to those at the cathedral. But particularly when these were far distant, there must

have been a problem with non-residence. John Salisbury seems to have been an absentee from the diocese. If William Powell divided his time between the cathedral and his parishioners in Oxford, the latter are likely to have felt some neglect, even if they had the benefit of a curate. Nor was the problem one confined to the beginning of the period. Robert White, Archdeacon of Merioneth 1623 - 57, was also Archdeacon of Norfolk from 1631 - two benefices about as far apart as possible. It would be interesting to know how he divided his time between them and how much of it was left for his parishioners at Penmynydd.

Vicars Choral

The appointment of nine Vicars Choral is known at Bangor 1560 - 1642; to these must be added Robert Morgan (1573) and Robert Sherman (1607), who became prebendaries and who have already been taken into consideration with the cathedral clergy. Morgan became a vicar choral first and then a prebendary, whereas Sherman only became a vicar choral in the last year of his life.

The number is much smaller than that known for St Asaph, especially since those at Bangor stretch over the whole period from 1560. Only two of the nine are known to have been graduates - William Martin (1629) and Thomas Meredith (1641), the last two appointed before the Civil War. This means that only 22 per cent of the vicars choral were graduates; if Morgan (who was an M.A.) and Sherman were included, the figure would rise to 27 per cent - even so, much lower than the percentage at St Asaph. Roland Mason (1608) is described as *litteratus* - having had a grammar school education; John Martyn (1599) and Robert Sherman were preachers. The academic qualifications of the rest are unknown. The Vicars Choral had charge of the cathedral parish of Bangor, an important responsibility. Presumably, Martyn and Sherman could preach in Welsh, which was perhaps a more important qualification for their duties than a degree. Five of the nine vicars choral held parishes in the diocese (55%); the inclusion of Mason and Sherman would bring this figure up to 63.5 per cent. William Sharpe (1578) held Llanrug, and William Martin Llanfairpwllgwyngyll, before becoming vicars choral. It is interesting that Martin was only in his parish a year (1628 -29) before moving to be Vicar Choral - perhaps another example of a well-educated man who found the life of the cathedral more congenial than that of a country

parish. In its Vicars Choral, Bangor seems to present something of a contrast to St Asaph; less a way to attract bright young men to the diocese than a senior post carrying responsibilities in the cathedral and the city. The Vicars Choral of this period may not, as a whole, have been academically distinguished, but the nine under consideration included two with degrees and a *literatus*, a preacher, five with parochial experience, and one (Robert Williams, 1600) who, being appointed by the conscientious Lord Keeper Egerton, probably had something to recommend him. Robert Rowland (1624) probably came from a clerical family of that name. John Boyes (died 1573) is otherwise unknown, but the others are likely to have been men well suited to their office.

3 *Llandaff*

Sixty cathedral clergy are known at Llandaff in this period; a figure very similar to that for St Asaph and Bangor. In addition, two men held prebends for a short time, apparently as an introduction to the diocese before becoming bishops - Gervase Babington as Treasurer (1590) and George Carleton as Prebendary of St Dubritius (1618). These have been dealt with in the chapter on the bishops.

Of these sixty clergy, thirty-five were graduates, i.e. 58.33 per cent, a figure lower than St Asaph (80%) and Bangor (76%). However, there were also among the prebendaries nine who were, or may have been, university students. It will be remarked elsewhere that, for reasons unknown, Llandaff diocese seems to have attracted an unusually high number of students who are not recorded as having taken degrees. The inclusion of these possible students would bring the proportion up to 73.33 per cent, not far behind Bangor; the inclusion of Babington and Carleton would likewise increase the proportion slightly, to 74 per cent.

The thirty-five graduates divided into eight D.D.s (compared with six at Bangor and seven at St Asaph), about whom more will be said shortly; three were B.D.s, one was an LL.D., seven were LL.B.s or B.C.L.s, twelve were M.A.s (a smaller proportion than at St Asaph and Bangor) and four were B.A.s. One point of interest is that six of the eight D.D.s proceeded to that degree after receiving their prebends; the exceptions are Francis Mansell (Treasurer 1631), the renowned Principal of Jesus College, Oxford, and great trainer of the Welsh clergy, and Thomas Chaffin, Prebendary of

Warthacwm (1630). The latter was beneficed in Wiltshire, and was almost certainly a protégé of the Earl of Pembroke. Only one of the three B.D.s, however, proceeded to his degree after receiving his prebend. But he and the six D.D.s in question suggest that prebendaries at Llandaff were encouraged to pursue their studies. The impression is reinforced by the career of John Williams; he was already a prebendary when he went up to Oxford in 1575, and became precentor in 1582. He is not known to have taken a degree. Neither is Christopher Fryer, who went up to Oxford at the age of twenty-six; but this was before becoming a prebendary in 1601. The (probable) failure of these two mature students to proceed to a degree underlines the difficulties of pursuing studies when above the usual university age, though others older than these are known to have done so. But there is more than a suggestion among the cathedral clergy of Bishop Blethin's efforts to improve the academic standards of his clergy.

The only LL.D. among the Llandaff cathedral clergy was John Smith, Archdeacon of Llandaff 1560 -64. He was also Chancellor of Exeter (where he resided) and Rector of Merthyr Tydfil. Of the Bachelors of Law(s), three were in office in 1560, but four were appointed later, two in 1600 and 1610. Llandaff, like Bangor, had therefore a continuing use for lawyers, but interestingly enough, only John Smith and his successor,¹⁹ Giles Langley, among the archdeacons were lawyers.

Forty-five of the sixty prebendaries held livings in the diocese; Thomas Williams (St Cross, 1578) probably did, but he is difficult to identify among the several of that name. Thomas Chaffin has already been noted as beneficed in Wiltshire; Francis Mansell held a living in Oxfordshire, Anthony Foxton in Kent, Jenkin Bowen in St David's and Cadwaladr Hughes in Somerset - both before and after serving as archdeacon 1601 - 7, indicating the strong links across the Bristol Channel.²⁰ Twenty-eight graduates were beneficed in the diocese, and indeed only three graduates are not known to have held benefices - Giles Langley, archdeacon (1570), Richard Morgan (Fairwell, 1591), and Henry Meyrick (St.Nicholas, 1582 and Warthacwm, 1588). Morgan and Meyrick are largely unknown, though the latter may have been related to Bishop Meyrick of Bangor. All the nine (supposed) university students held benefices in the diocese. The sixteen non-graduates divide into nine who held livings in the diocese and seven who did not. The latter include three who had responsible

cathedral posts - Lewis Baker (Archdeacon, 1571 - 82), Evan Morgan (Precentor, 1599 - 1603), and James Williams (Treasurer, 1608 - 26). Thomas Evans (Fairwell, 1576), John Ballard (Warthacwm, 1592) and John Barker (Caerau, 1597) are otherwise unknown. Llewellyn Gabon (St Cross, 1560) was returned by Bishop Kitchin as a layman and non-resident; presumably a survivor from Mary's reign. How he came to acquire the prebend must be a matter of speculation, (but see n.13.) Among the nine who held parishes in the diocese, most were in charge of livings which were either important or prestigious - Pendoylan, Sully, Llantrisant, Itton, Caerwent, St Peter's-super-Ely, Wenvoe, St Julit, Llansannor, and Coity. They seem, therefore, to have earned their places among the cathedral chapter by their importance as pastors rather than their academic qualifications, which was no bad thing.

Llandaff diocese was probably the least well placed of all the Welsh dioceses, with its impropriations, poor livings, absence of sinecures to supplement benefices, and the ruinous state of the cathedral. The only vicars choral known in this period²¹ are the two in the 1563 return - John Smith and Miles Griffith. Was John Smith the same as the archdeacon? If so, it must have been a sinecure, since he was resident at Exeter. This may be an indication that the worshipping life of the cathedral was temporarily in abeyance. Miles Griffith later became Rector of Bedwellte.

When all this is taken into consideration, the cathedral clergy were, on the whole, a credit to the diocese, a team who reflect the pastoral care shown by successive bishops.

4 St David's

Ninety-five cathedral clergy are known at St David's between 1560 and 1642. This is by far the largest figure for any of the Welsh dioceses, and almost double the number known for Bangor in this period. However, St David's was the largest diocese, and the cathedral had the largest number of prebendal stalls (see below).²² In addition, three prebendaries of St David's became bishops and are taken account of elsewhere - Rowland Meyrick, Prebendary of Treflydn, who became Bishop of Bangor; William Blethin, Archdeacon of Brecon, and Morgan Owen, Prebendary of Clydey, both of whom became Bishops of Llandaff. It is a point of interest that after Thomas Young, who was promoted from being Precentor to Bishop 1559 - 60 and then had an equally

rapid elevation to York, none of the Bishops of St David's in this period came from within the diocese. The cathedral clergy include two others who became bishops, but outside Wales - John Williams, Archdeacon of Cardigan,²³ who became Bishop of Lincoln, and Richard Meredith, Prebendary of Clydey, who became Bishop of Leighlin. It was certainly a distinction to have had five bishops-to-be among the members of the chapter.

Of the ninety-five clergy in question, sixty-five are known to have been graduates, or 68 per cent of the total. Of these, seven were D.D.s and seven B.D.s. Five were LL.D.s or D.C.S.s, seven LL.B.s or B.C.S.s.²⁴ Twenty-nine were M.A.s, or 44 per cent of the graduates, a figure closer to those for St Asaph and Bangor than that for Llandaff. Nine canons are not known to have proceeded beyond their B.A., the highest number among the Welsh cathedrals. St David's is unique in this period among the Welsh cathedrals in having a doctor of medicine among the clergy - Roger Gifford, who was Precentor from 1591 until his death in 1597. He owed his appointment almost certainly to being physician to Queen Elizabeth. His suitability for the post may be questioned, as, there being no dean, the precentor was head of the cathedral chapter.

In addition to the graduate canons, there were fifteen others who were, or who may have been, university students. As many as eighty of the canons, therefore, may have studied at the universities, or 84 per cent. This compares with 89 per cent at St Asaph (80% graduates), 76 per cent at Bangor (all graduates) and 73 - 74 per cent at Llandaff (58.33% graduates). The inclusion of the three Welsh bishops-to-be at St David's would bring the total up to 84.6 per cent, only a slight increase. More meaningful, perhaps, is the observation that at the beginning of the period (1560), thirteen of the twenty prebends were held by graduates and two by possible students (65% - 75%). At the end of the period, the proportion was fifteen graduates (75%) and three possible students (total 90%). This represents a slight improvement over the total period. It may also be noted that four of the doctors of divinity (Roger Bradshaw, William Slatyer, Thomas Prichard and Richard Bayly), two of the doctors of law (Walter Jones and David Yale) and two of the bachelors of divinity (Henry Holland and Walter Watkins) proceeded to the degree after their appointment to the chapter, though the B.D.s only two years and one year respectively, after their appointment, which

suggests that they were nearing the completion of their studies. But as at Llandaff, there is the suggestion that the St David's clergy felt encouraged to continue their academic pursuits.

Fifty-seven of the ninety-five clergy held livings in the diocese with cure of souls, or 60 per cent of the total, to whom should be added Morgan Owens, later Bishop of Llandaff, who was Rector of Port Eynon. Twenty-five held livings in England (26%) but the two lists are not mutually exclusive - some held livings in the diocese either before, while, or after, being beneficed in England. To the twenty-five should be added Daniel Donne, who was Dean of the Arches, and Richard Meredith, Dean of St Patrick's and Bishop of Leighlin in Ireland. It is possible that John Williams was Archdeacon of Cardigan for thirty years (1610 - 40) without ever setting foot in the diocese. While a case can be made out for a cathedral appointing one or two canons to establish links with the wider church (like Dr Donne at St David's or Francis Mansell at Llandaff) it does seem that St David's had more canons with no real connection with the diocese, some of whom may have been completely non-resident. The appointment of two of Bishop Richard Davies' sons to the chapter has often been commented on - Peregrine as Archdeacon of Cardigan (1563) and Jarson (Gerson) as Prebendary of Clydey (1577). At least Jarson took the living of Penbryn (1584) though neither he nor his brother seem to have gone up to university.

Academically, therefore, St David's stands comparison with the other Welsh cathedrals at this time. By the Whitgiftian criterion of service, particularly to the home diocese, it seems not to stand up so well, especially in comparison with the northern cathedrals. The remoteness of the cathedral, set in an area of Welsh culture, was one factor which tended to set the chapter apart, and to deter clergy whose real roots were in England, from taking up residence there - it has been seen that Bishops Field and Mainwaring needed some bullying from Archbishop Laud to get them to the diocese and keep them there. Bishop William Barlow (1536 - 48) had a scheme for removing the cathedral from St David's to Carmarthen, then the largest town in Wales and a natural centre of communications for South-West Wales. The scheme foundered through opposition from the cathedral chapter (with whom he was in any case at odds), but the relocation of the cathedral might have eased the problems of remoteness and non-residence.²⁵

In addition to the prebendaries, the names of four subchanters are known at St David's. No more can be said about the last two, Richard Mazock (1601) and Edward Beard (1622), than that they were subchanters. Richard Edwards (1571), however, also held the office of chancellor and various livings in the diocese. Thomas Crane (1566) held two livings before his appointment, Walton West (1577) and St Issell (1559). He is probably the same Thomas Crane who took his B.A. at Cambridge in 1571 - the only known graduate among the subchanters. If so, he is another instance of a cathedral cleric studying after his appointment, though who undertook his duties while he was studying is a matter of speculation. He was, in fact, a Marian priest. Whether he kept a low profile under the Catholic Queen, and only went up to university when the new religious climate set in, or whether the chapter encouraged him to further his education, albeit belatedly, must likewise remain a matter of speculation.²⁶

If the ninety-eight prebendaries at St David's (including the three Welsh bishops) occupying the twenty stalls are averaged out over the eighty-two years from 1560 to 1642, their term would come to 16.7 years. A comparable figure for Llandaff would give a figure of 18.5 years; at Bangor, excluding those who held cursal prebends for an uncertain time, the figure would be 16.4 years. St Asaph would have a slightly longer term of twenty-four years. These figures would have to be broken down further to be fully meaningful, but they are a rough indication that cathedral clergy in Wales tended to serve for a lengthy term, thus providing continuity in the chapter, an element both for stability and resistance to change. (See also n.4.)

Irrespective of the size of the establishment, there seems to have been a tendency towards the development of a 'clerical élite' centred on the cathedral clergy. John Pruett has studied this development at Lincoln after the Restoration,²⁷ but the signs were already there at two Welsh cathedrals before the Civil War:- at Bangor, where the leading families among the gentry, more or less distantly related to one another, built up a controlling influence; and Llandaff, where its focus was a more closely knit family group related by blood or marriage. Non-residence had been a problem since the Middle Ages, particularly at the secular foundations, but in Wales, as elsewhere, a small group of residentiary canons and the vicars choral kept up a dignified round of services.²⁸ The growing involvement of the Welsh cathedral clergy in the parochial

ministry was part of a general movement in the Church of England which by 1620 had become normal ²⁹ - a response to the ideals laid down by Archbishop Whitgift. In one respect, three of the Welsh cathedrals (and to a lesser extent, St David's) differed from some English ones:- with one or two exceptions, the cathedral clergy had strong links with the diocese. By contrast, forty per cent of the prebendaries of Lincoln Cathedral in 1642 were 'foreigners' with parishes outside the diocese.³⁰ The 'Welshness' of the Welsh cathedrals probably helped to exclude 'foreigners', at least in this period, while St Asaph and Bangor (and to a limited extent, Llandaff and St David's) conferred prebends on distinguished clergymen from the sister diocese.

5 Brecon Collegiate Church

The inclusion of the collegiate church of Brecon in this survey needs little apology. Its twenty-three prebends were an additional reservoir of patronage in the diocese, and it is clear that William Laud and Roger Mainwaring at least used it as a second administrative centre,³¹ a kind of 'bishopstool' like Ripon and Southwell Minsters in the diocese of York. Whether a corporate worshipping life was carried on there in this period must remain speculative. No appointment to the prebend of Llandygwydd is known in this period, and only one to the prebends of Bochrwyd, Llandysilio Gogo, Llanfynydd, and Llansanffraid-yn-Elfael, but that may be because the evidence is sketchy rather than that no appointment was made. The appointment of Thomas Barlow as Chancellor and Richard Turberville as Precentor suggests that some kind of corporate life may have been going on.

Fifty-eight prebendaries are known at Brecon in this period, as many as at St Asaph, Bangor, and Llandaff. In addition, there were two prebendaries who are noted elsewhere as bishops - Richard Vaughan of Bangor, and Gervase Babington of Llandaff. There were, in addition, twenty-four who have already been noted as prebendaries of St David's making a grand total of eighty-four. The twenty-four who were also prebendaries of St David's include well-known names in the diocese - William Awbrey; Lewis Gwyn; Richard, Thomas and William Huet; Richard Middleton; Richard Meredith; Henry Nicholls; Richard Rudd; Griffith Toye; Andrew Vaen; and not to be overlooked, Bishop Richard Davies' son Jarson. The fact that

prebendaries of St David's made up 28.5 per cent of the total may be interpreted in one of two ways. Either it can be seen as a way of binding the two ends of an unwieldy diocese together by giving prominent clerics an interest in both the cathedral and the college, or else Brecon College may have offered a useful way of giving the more favoured among the clergy two prebends instead of one. Perhaps both policies were at work.

Of the fifty-eight prebendaries who were not also on the staff of St David's or bishops-to-be, nineteen were graduates, 32.75 per cent of the group. However, of those also prebendaries of the cathedral, twenty-two were graduates and one a possible student. A total of forty-three therefore were graduates, including Vaughan and Babington, or 51 per cent, lower even than the proportion at Llandaff. Of those who were only prebendaries of Brecon, one was a D.D., two B.D.s, one LL.D., two LL.B.s, nine M.A.s (47% of the group) and four B.A.s. The two B.D.s both attained their degrees after appointment to prebends; Evan Vaughan, the only D.D. among them obtained his stall and his degree at uncertain dates. Thomas Martin, the LL.D., was appointed Prebendary of Clyro in 1554 under Queen Mary, and has the distinction of being the last Warden of the Hospital of the Blessed David at Swansea. The two LL.B.s were appointed in 1535 and 1561. Of the fifty-eight in the group, there were also nine who were, or were possibly, university students, making the total number who may have studied at the universities twenty-eight, or 48 per cent. Of the whole eighty-four, the total would be fifty-three or 63 per cent.

Of the non-graduate prebendaries without benefices in the diocese, three were probably relatives of a former bishop - Michael and Samuel Ferrar, and Roger Barlow; the latter was almost certainly the brother of Bishop William Barlow, a layman and former merchant of Bristol, who settled in the diocese of St David's and built up considerable estates, partly from former monastic land.³² Thomas Bulkeley was probably one of the Bulkeleys of Baron Hill, Anglesey. Philip Sydney, the future courtier and poet, was the son of the Lord President of the Council of the Marches. Samuel Ferrar and Philip Sydney were still at their studies, as were Travers (Christian name unknown, possibly a relative of the early Puritan), and Robert Byrt, son of a Carmarthenshire gentleman. Other sons of the gentry among the prebendaries were Abraham Buckley (? = Bulkeley), John and Richard Awbrey (Brecon) and Henry

Goddard (Derbyshire). There seems little doubt that, as well as academic distinction and service to the diocese, being well connected was one of the qualifications for becoming a prebendary of Brecon in this period.

6 The Collegiate Church of Llanddewi Brefi

If little apology is needed for the inclusion of Brecon College, more explanation is needed for the inclusion of Llanddewi Brefi. Its status during this period is questionable at any stage, and whether it had functioned as a worshipping community for some time before the Reformation is doubtful. Of the prebendaries whose names are known, five were survivors from Mary's reign. No precentor is known to have been appointed in this period* (a suggestion that corporate life was *not* taking place). Appointments to Llandyfriog, Llanfihangel Ystrad, Llangybi, and Carrog seem to have ceased under Elizabeth; but at Bangor and Henllan, Llandogy, Llanfair, and Llangynllo, after ceasing under Elizabeth or earlier, appointments resumed between 1622 and 1630, possibly through the influence of Bishop Laud. While Llanddewi Brefi was probably, therefore, a college in name only, it did represent a source of patronage in addition to the cathedral and Brecon.

Thirty-five clergy of Llanddewi Brefi are known in this period. Eleven were also prebendaries of St David's, one of Brecon, and Jenkin Bowen was also a Prebendary of Llandaff. Jeremy Wood (Llandysul 1596) is said also to have been a canon of St David's but he has not been included among the cathedral clergy as his name does not occur among the holders of any stall. Of the twenty-two clergy (including Wood) who were not prebendaries elsewhere, ten were graduates (45% - a higher proportion than at Brecon). The ten divide into one D.D., two B.D.s, one LL.D., four M.A.s, (40%), one B.A., and John Hughes, who is difficult to identify among several possible graduates of that name. The D.D. was Jenkin Bowen, who has already been considered among the Llandaff clergy. Daniel Evans (Llanwenog 1641) took his B.D. a year after his appointment. The date when Humphrey Aylworth (Llandysul 1609) took his S.T.B. is unknown, except that it was before his appointment. Valentine Dale, LL.D., the only canon lawyer in the group, was appointed to Llandysul in 1554 under Queen Mary.

* Rowland Meyrick was, however, Precentor 1541-66 (suspended under Mary).

In addition to the ten graduates, the twenty-two clergy in question include three possible students, bringing the number of (possible) university men up to 59 per cent. The inclusion of the St David's prebendaries, seven of whom were graduates and one a possible student, and the prebendary of Brecon (a possible student) would bring the figures to seventeen graduates out of thirty-four (50%) and twenty-two possible university men (64.7%). In terms of academic qualification, the Llanddewi Brefi clergy are respectable, and slightly better than those of Brecon. Of the group of twenty-two, nine held benefices in the diocese (40.9%, lower than the Brecon clergy). Two held benefices in England - Humphrey Aylworth (variously, but no closer than Oxfordshire) and John Frost in Suffolk. They may both have owed their appointments to connections with the Lord Keeper at the time.³³ The same appears to be true of Richard Miles (Llanwenog 1600) and Peter Havard (Trefdreyr 1607), both of them appointees of Lord Keeper Egerton, but they and Valentine Dale are otherwise unknown apart from their degrees. Nicholas Byford and Griffith David, appointed under Mary; John Trundell and Richard Udill, appointed early in Elizabeth's reign; Richard Tillesley and Griffin Morgan, appointed late under James, are all otherwise unknown. Whether they were worthy clerics who have escaped notice elsewhere, whether they were bright students on a prebendal scholarship, or whether they were recipients of some patron's bounty, is unknown. The prebendaries of Llanddewi Brefi include Bishop Davies' son, Peregrine, and their number, like those of St David's, and Brecon, seem to have included the good, the learned and the lucky.

The Social and Geographical Origins of the Cathedral Clergy

Evidence as to the social and geographical origins of the Welsh clergy is patchy. Much of what is available comes from *Alumni Oxonienses* which often gives the county of origin of its students; social status is also given, but this has to be treated with caution since, as W.P.Griffith points out,³⁴ younger sons of the gentry, and even more, cadet branches of gentle families, might enrol as plebeians, since gentlemen students were expected to pay higher fees, sometimes straining the family budget. *Alumni Cantabrigienses* sometimes gives the county of origin for Cambridge students. It also sometimes gives status within colleges rather than social origin, but 'scholar', 'pensioner' and 'sizar' are not reliable clues as to family background. D.R.Thomas sometimes includes family particulars of the St Asaph clergy. In a number of

instances, an intelligent guess can be made, e.g. that a clergyman with a name such as Holland or Gamage came from the gentle families of that name, though possibly from a cadet branch only on the borders of gentility.³⁵ But even though social and geographical origins can only be known or even guessed at in a minority of cases, enough evidence is available to constitute a meaningful sample, and it is possible to construct some kind of profile. It has to be borne in mind, however, that of all classes in the community, the gentry were in the best position to send their sons to university, and records are likely to exaggerate the proportion of clergy from this class.

Among the cathedral clergy, the gentry were conspicuous by their presence, though the representation varied considerably from diocese to diocese. In St Asaph, out of a sample twenty-five, fifteen (60%) were gentry. In Bangor, the proportion was as high as 66%, but lower in the South - just under 53% in Llandaff, but only 38% in St David's. Any conclusions have to be drawn with caution, but it suggests that the gentry were well integrated into the Church hierarchy.³⁶ In Wales, the Church was evidently seen as an acceptable calling for a younger son of the gentry, not least in the diocese of Bangor, where gentle status was often not supported by appreciable material wealth.³⁷ The gentry were not only best placed to send their sons to university, but to keep them there until they had taken higher degrees, and as these came to be regarded as qualifications for higher office in the Church, it is not surprising that the sons of the gentry did well.

The proportion of prebendaries from clergy families varies more widely. At St Asaph, only two among the sample are possibilities, one of these (David Clapham) being a prebendary-schoolboy. At Bangor, five out of the sample twenty-one (nearly 24%) were sons of clergymen; at Llandaff, it was 29%, at St David's 38% - the same proportion here as the sons of the gentry. In the South, more sons of bishops became prebendaries - whether because of nepotism, or because (for some unknown reason) they were more inclined to follow their fathers into the Church. At St Asaph, six out of a sample thirteen (46%) of vicars-choral came from clergy families, as against only one from the gentry. Those from clergy families are likely to have grown up with some background of Church music, so that this high proportion is not surprising. It

has already been remarked ³⁸ that several of the St Asaph vicars-choral shared surnames, and there may have been an inner core of clergy families among them.

As to the rest - those who described themselves at Oxford as plebeians, or about whom nothing may safely be surmised, many are likely to have been the sons of professional families, or of prosperous yeomen, tradesmen or merchants - any families who could afford to keep one or more son at home until his twenties. There may even have been the occasional 'local boy made good' - a boy from a poor family lucky enough somehow to gain an education; but none is known among the cathedral clergy.

There is a greater degree of certainty in postulating the locality from which clergy came. At St Asaph, nineteen prebendaries out of a sample twenty-five originated from North Wales (76%). Two others came from Shropshire, though whether from that part within the diocese, or those parts within Lichfield and Hereford dioceses, is not known. The known 'outsiders' came from further afield - the two schoolboy-prebendaries probably from London, Richard Rogers from Kent, and Archibald Sparks from Scotland - the furthest distance for any of the Welsh prebendaries. Ten out of the thirteen sample vicars-choral came from Wales (77%), one of these from Cardiganshire and one from Radnor; one came from Westmorland (John Ireland); the origin of two others, both sons of clergymen, is unknown. At Bangor, eighteen out of the sample twenty-one prebendaries came from North Wales (85.7%), the three others from the Marches. At Llandaff, twelve out of the sample seventeen prebendaries came from Wales (70.5%), all but one (Henry Meyrick) from South Wales. Thomas Godwyn, as a bishop's son, might be added to the list; *Alumni Oxonienses* gives his origin as London; he grew up while his father was a prebendary of Wells, though whether he was resident there is not known. John Dowle came from Gloucestershire, but two archdeacons came respectively from Buckinghamshire and Kent; Thomas Edmunds came from Surrey. At St David's twenty-six out of a sample thirty-nine prebendaries (66.66%) came from Wales; seven of these twenty-six were from North Wales; Lewis Gwyn is recorded as emanating simply from Wales. Prebendaries originating from England numbered two from Bedfordshire, and one each from Gloucestershire, Lincolnshire, Cumberland, Devon, Somerset, Yorkshire, Warwickshire, Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire and London.³⁹ Personal connections are in some cases known, in others they may be surmised. Roger Rudd (Yorkshire)

was related to the Bishop. William Beeley and Archdeacon Rudd both came from Bedfordshire. Leonard Milburne (Cumberland) was related to the Bishop. Richard Bayly (Warwickshire) was sometime chaplain to Bishop Laud. The 'Welsh connection' at Brecon Collegiate Church was slightly greater than at the cathedral - eleven known out of a sample sixteen (68¾%). The origins of only two prebendaries of Llanddewi Brefi are known - one from Warwickshire, one locally from Cardiganshire.

One fact worth noting is that only one prebendary, Thomas Morrice, at Llandaff, originated in Montgomeryshire - even that is a supposition, that he came from the landed family of that name. This might indicate the relative 'backwardness' of that county, particularly its lack of grammar schools. No prebendary is known to have come from Radnor. Radnorshire had grammar schools at Old Radnor and Presteigne, both in the diocese of Hereford, and it is possible that bright boys from those schools were drawn to Hereford diocese rather than to St David's. Two vicars-choral of St Asaph, however, did originate from Montgomeryshire (George Roberts and William Bynner). Both were appointed at the end of the period under investigation, respectively in 1640 and 1641. This may reflect the greater level of pastoral care in the county with the passing of time ⁴⁰ - bright boys being drawn to the service of the Church. William Bynner may in any case have come from a clerical family, the grandson of Oliver Bynner, Vicar of Llanfihangel-yng-Ngwynfa in Queen Elizabeth's time. The proportion of Welsh clergy among the cathedral prebendaries is increased if there are added those with Welsh-sounding patronymics. Again, the evidence must be used with caution, bearing in mind that, for instance, a name like 'Williams' is native to Cumbria and Cornwall as well as Wales; that there were true-born Welshmen, particularly among the gentry, with names such as Robinson and White; and that a clergyman called Owens, for instance, was a native of Northamptonshire. Nevertheless, clergymen like Owen Owens who were drawn to Wales were probably conscious of (and proud of) their Welsh roots, and may well have grown up with at least some knowledge of the Welsh language. Howbeit, added to those known, or plausibly supposed, to have originated in Wales, the results are impressive. Of the St Asaph prebendaries, fifty-one out of a total of sixty-nine show some Welsh connection (73.9%); the proportion would increase if 'Rogers' may be counted as a Welsh

surname, and the two prebendaries from Shropshire are included. Altogether 83% of the vicars-choral at St Asaph may be accounted Welsh. At Bangor, 84% of the prebendaries were by this reckoning Welsh, 88% if two from the Marches (called Hughes and Vaughan) are included. The proportion at Llandaff was 75% - high, particularly if the number of English surnames in South-East Wales is considered. At St David's, the proportion was 65.5%, at Brecon only 55.9%, at Llanddewi Brefi 54.5%. In St Asaph, Llandaff, but particularly Bangor, therefore, while there was not a Welsh monopoly of the prebends (which might have tended to 'in-breeding'), the majority clearly did go to 'Welshmen' in the broadest sense. What it is not possible to ascertain more precisely is the number who originated within the diocese and those who came from elsewhere in Wales.⁴¹ There was obviously more of an English 'invasion' in St David's diocese, particularly at the collegiate churches. Part of this seems to have been due to the need to introduce good men from outside, such as William Nicholson and Richard Bayly, but there was at least a risk in the South-West of a gap opening up between a more Anglicised hierarchy and a more solidly Welsh rank-and-file.

Conclusion

The degree to which the Welsh cathedrals were able to meet the demands of the Reformation era was affected by their relative isolation. That they all made a contribution to education by establishing or maintaining schools is clear; the Friars School at Bangor certainly served the needs of the local community, and as *will be* seen,⁴² the vicars-choral were much involved as teachers. How far the schools at St Asaph, Llandaff and St David's served the community outside the cathedral must remain a matter of speculation, but at a time when schools in Wales were thin on the ground, they must almost certainly have met a need. The school established at Brecon when Abergwili College was refounded there, now known as Christ College, proved in the long run a more important place of learning. Otherwise, the Welsh cathedral schools hardly made a contribution to education comparable with that of some of their English counterparts,⁴³ or new foundations in Wales such as the grammar schools at Carmarthen and Ruthin.

As has been seen,⁴⁴ the Welsh cathedrals played a part, even if a small one, in supporting scholars at the universities. But they did not become centres of theological teaching in the way that some English cathedrals did, at least for a time.⁴⁵ Nor did they become great preaching centres. At one time and another, bishops in all the Welsh dioceses applied pressure on the prebendaries to preach more regularly in their cathedrals. At a time when preaching was in short supply, this was to be welcomed, but the real need in Wales was for more preaching in the larger centres of population such as Carmarthen, Swansea and Wrexham. Bishop Owen of St Asaph seems to have been almost alone in encouraging the prebendaries to get out and preach in the parishes as happened, for instance, at Durham.⁴⁶

There is some evidence at all the Welsh cathedrals of a fostering of musical life.⁴⁷ Though there does not seem to have been Arminian influence behind the appointment of organists and the building up of choirs, conduct of the cathedral services with greater dignity and beauty accorded well with Arminian ideals.⁴⁸ But the Welsh cathedrals were spared the unseemly friction such as took place at Durham between the Arminian John Cosin and the Calvinist Peter Smart.⁴⁹ Nor did Wales see the conflict between the cathedral and the local community which became a feature of many English cathedral cities, notably York, in the 1630s.⁵⁰ Finally, although family groups seem to have been able to establish a dominant influence at Bangor and Llandaff, the 'higher' clergy in Wales (prebendaries and sinecurists) were not cut off from the life of the rest of the diocese. The Welsh cathedrals in this period had not become 'islands', either of clerical excellence or clerical privilege, in the way that happened at some English cathedrals, particularly after the Restoration.⁵¹

Notes Welsh Clergy 1 - 51

1. David Marcombe, 'The Durham dean and chapter: old abbey writ large?' in *Continuity and Change*, ed. Rosemary O'Day and Felicity Heal (Leicester, 1976) p.126.
2. David Marcombe, 'Cathedrals and Protestantism: the search for a new identity' in *Close Encounters*, ed. David Marcombe and C.S. Knighton (Nottingham, 1991), p.49.
3. 'Cathedrals and Protestantism' p.49. Marcombe notes that statutes might ostensibly oblige prebendaries to attend offices of the Blessed Virgin or say Requiem Masses for benefactors when such services had been abolished under Henry VIII and Edward VI.
4. *ibid.*, p.45. At Lincoln, 'Conservatism was pronounced among the prebendaries in the 1560s' - D.C.Chalmers, 'Puritanism in Leicestershire' (*supra*) p.22.
5. According to the *Liber Valorum*, ed. J.Lloyd (London, 1788) St Asaph had a Dean and fourteen prebendaries; Bangor a Dean and eight prebendaries; Llandaff the Archdeacon and fourteen prebendaries and St David's the Precentor and eight prebendaries. Each of these is more than the Dean and six prebendaries at refounded monastic cathedrals like Carlisle and Rochester, or new foundations like Bristol. But it is considerably less than the thirty-five prebendaries at Chichester or Hereford, two of the less rich English secular cathedrals.
6. The archdeaconry of St Asaph (valued at £74.15s.7½d. in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*) and the 'golden prebend' of Faenol (£40) would count among the few Welsh 'plums'.
7. Wells and Lichfield were certainly not among the largest towns of their respective dioceses. The latter was still officially the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, but Coventry had been de-cathedralised by Henry VIII.
8. Marcombe, 'The Durham dean and chapter' (*supra*) p.130.
9. Complaints about non-residence sometimes came from the bishops themselves, and may be a reflection of the isolation they might feel in their position. Accusations of non-residence often fail to distinguish between a prebendary who might be serving an important parish in the diocese, and a prebendary or incumbent who might not be resident in the diocese at all.
10. *supra*. p.22.
11. Marcombe, 'Cathedrals and Protestantism' (*supra*) p.51.
12. Francis Jones, 'The Personality of a Welsh cleric, 1634' in *JHSCW* I, 1947, pp.154 ff. gives an account of Thomas Banks' life-style, based on his will - clearly that of a prosperous gentleman farmer.
13. Marcombe, 'Cathedrals and Protestantism' (*supra*) p.51, points out that even after the Reformation, prebends and even deaneries were used to reward services to the state, even by laymen.

14. The prebends of Norton College in the Diocese of Durham were used after the Reformation as exhibitions at the universities. - Wilson, 'Changes of the Reformation period in Durham and Northumberland' (*supra*) p.568.
15. He was, of course, ejected during the Interregnum, but restored in 1660.
16. It is not clear how many vicars choral served at St Asaph at any one time, as the dates of their resignations are not known. As well as being (in Puritan eyes) too numerous, vicars choral had a generally bad name for drunkenness and disorderly behaviour. - Marcombe, 'Cathedrals and Protestantism' (*supra*) p.46.
17. Probably teaching in the grammar school also, like the vicars choral at Bangor, if the grammar and choir schools were separate, as at St David's.
18. The Chancellor of a cathedral is usually responsible either for legal matters or for education in the diocese.
19. There is a gap of six years between the death of Smith in 1564 and the first reference to Langley in 1570. Langley may have been appointed earlier, there may have been an appointment between which has gone unrecorded, or the office may simply have remained vacant - its duties do not seem to have been unduly exacting (See *infra*, *Life of the Cathedral Chapters*, p.120).
20. The Earl of Pembroke was a great landowner in both Wiltshire and Glamorgan. For another 'Wiltshire connection' see James Witney *infra* p.194. Bishop Godwin's Somerset connection may account for Hughes' preferment.
21. The appointment of a salaried organist at the cathedral in 1629 is stronger evidence of worshipping life there, at least from that time. - Newell, *Llandaff* (*supra*) p.157.
22. There seems some uncertainty as to how many of the cathedral prebends carried membership of the cathedral chapter. It appears that even the archdeaconries did not carry automatic membership.
23. There is some discrepancy in the records as to whether Williams was Archdeacon of Cardigan, or Carmarthen, or possibly both. Le Neve gives both; Williams' biographer Hackett says Carmarthen. If Williams was not, in fact, Archdeacon of Cardigan, it is possible that Middleton held the office until his death in 1641 - 55 years.
24. See Lists of Cathedral Clergy Vol.II, pp.27 ff.
25. See Glanmor Williams, *Welsh Reformation Essays* (Cardiff, 1967), pp.111 ff.
26. The sketchy nature of the records at St David's is illustrated by the case of the famous Stuart composer, Thomas Tomkins. His father was a singing-man at St David's; he later became a vicar choral at Gloucester Cathedral, being then, presumably, ordained, but it is not known whether he had held the same position at St David's. If young Thomas began his musical education as a choir-boy at St David's, it says something for the musical standards there.
27. 'Career Patterns among the Clergy of Lincoln Cathedral, 1660 - 1750' in *Church History*, vol.44, No.2, 1975, p.204.
28. *Ibid.*, pp.214 - 15; ed. Rosemary O'Day and Felicity Heal, *Continuity and Change* (Leicester, 1976), p.130. David Marcombe's chapter, 'The Durham Dean and

Chapter: old abbey writ large?' gives a revealing picture of Durham Cathedral in the Reformation and post-Reformation period.

29. Rosemary O'Day, *The English Clergy, 1558 - 1642* (Leicester, 1979), p.156. Marcombe, 'The Durham dean and chapter' (*supra*) p.130.
30. Pruett, *op.cit.*p.207. O'Day, in *The English Clergy 1558 - 1642* (Leicester 1979) pp.152, 156, observes that an academic career or chaplaincy to a bishop were the best routes to promotion.
31. See Laud's Diary and Mainwaring's Register, *passim*. The latter records ordinations and licensing of clergy by Mainwaring at Brecon.
32. See Glanmor Williams, *Welsh Reformation Essays* pp.112, 119, 121, 122, 128 - 30.
33. Lord Ellesmere, who appointed Aylworth, studied at Brasenose College, Oxford, and on the evidence of Tanner MS.179 kept links with Oxford Colleges, particularly those like Broadgates and Magdalen Halls (where Aylworth studied) which nurtured clergy. John Frost studied at Lord Keeper Williams' old college, St John's, Cambridge.
34. *Welsh Students at Oxford, Cambridge and the Inns of Court during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries* (University of Wales Ph.D. thesis, 1981), p.78.
35. I am reminded of a farm labourer of my acquaintance who had the same distinctive surname as the local aristocratic family, to whom he was reputed to be distantly related. Namesake must clearly be used with caution!
36. The families of Welsh bishops such as William Hughes, Parry, Hanmer and Rudd help to illustrate the point. *supra*, pp. 33, 59, 64, 53 respectively.
37. There seems to be strong evidence that a proportionately greater number of the clergy in Wales were from gentle families than in England. Christophers, *op.cit.*,p.41, found only 11 among the Surrey clergy from landowning families; Barrett, *op.cit.*,p.14, found 10 sons of the gentry as against 26 plebeians among Oxford graduates ordained in Oxford and Worcester dioceses in 1600; H.G. Owen *The London parish clergy in the reign of Elizabeth I* (London Univ. PhD. thesis 1957) notes that bishops were obliged to ordain 'sundry artificers and others' in the first part of Queen Elizabeth's reign - p.4. London and Surrey are particularly significant because more able clergy from elsewhere were drawn to, or at least near, the metropolis.
38. *supra* p. 96.
39. This diversity of origin among the St David's prebendaries looks less remarkable when compared with that of the parochial clergy in Surrey and London. Christophers, *op.cit.*,p.37 finds clergy in Surrey to have originated in 37 counties, and as far afield as Wales and Yorkshire. Owen, *op.cit.*,pp./34 - 36, finds London clergy to have come from all parts of the realm - only 4 from Wales, the same number from Scotland, as against 3 from France and 1 from Holland. Rosemary O'Day *Clerical Patronage and Recruitment in the Elizabethan and early Stuart period, with special reference to the Diocese of Coventry and Lichfield* (London University PhD.thesis, 1972) p.215, finds the odd Frenchman among the Lichfield clergy. The great majority of 'immigrant' Surrey clergy had begun their careers

elsewhere; the same is presumably true of the St David's prebendaries, but the evidence (ordination papers, etc.) is lacking to be certain on the point.

40. *infra* pp. 168-71

41. See n.39 *supra*.

42. *infra*, p.122

43. Marcombe 'The Durham dean and chapter' (*supra*) p.130, notes how the cathedral school at Durham gave an education in grammar to the sons of the merchants and gentry. The cathedral school at Salisbury, however, failed to survive as a grammar school and became the cathedral choir school. - Dora Robertson, *Sarum Close* (Bath, 1969) p.37 *et passim*.

44. *supra* p. 94

45. Marcombe, 'Cathedrals and Protestantism' (*supra*) p.53, mentions Durham and Hereford as centres of theological teaching, and York as attracting distinguished theologians as prebendaries.

46. *supra* p. 65 Wilson, *op.cit.*, pp.578 - 85; Marcombe, 'The Durham dean and chapter' (*supra*) p.130. [*supra*].

47. *supra* p. 97. See also 'Life of the Cathedral Chapters' *infra*. p.123 and nn.21,26,

48. *supra* p.12. C.H.Simpkinson, *Life and Times of William Laud* (London 1894) p.41, however, draws attention to the influence of the dignified services at Westminster Abbey when John Williams was dean (1621 - 41) and Williams was definitely not an Arminian.

49. Marcombe 'Cathedrals and Protestantism' (*supra*) pp.55 - 6.

50. Claire Cross, 'Conflict and Confrontation: the York Dean and Chapter and the Corporation in the 1630s' in *Close Encounters* (*supra*) pp.63 ff. As well as friction at York, Cross notes similar trouble at Durham, Canterbury, Salisbury, Chichester, Gloucester, Worcester, Norwich and Exeter. It may be a coincidence, but the list does not include Carlisle or Rochester, where the cathedral was poor, Ely, Lichfield or Wells, which were located in small towns. Big cathedral - prosperous city seems to have been the setting for conflict - unless the evidence is lacking elsewhere.

51. *supra*, n.30

APPENDIX

The Life of the Cathedral Chapters

The life of the cathedral chapters in this period is not, strictly, part of this thesis. Nevertheless, it is worth taking a glance at such information as exists; it may give some indication as to how church policy was being carried out; and since the worshipping life of the cathedral should serve as a model and inspiration to the clergy, it can give some indication of the spiritual health or malaise of a diocese.

The situation in Tudor times was daunting. St Asaph and Bangor Cathedrals had been devastated in the course of Owain Glyndŵr's rising (c.1400). St Asaph lay ruined for eighty years, Bangor for ninety.¹ Repair of the bishop's palace in each case took longer. Even when accomplished, the results were not entirely satisfactory. At Bangor, the palace had a great hall with wings to the south and east. It was timber-framed, and was already 'much decayed' by the mid seventeenth century. The dean had a residence which, in 1623, was described as being 'in sufficient repair' but was 'ruinous' by 1649.² The result was that, until the Reformation, most bishops were English abbots residing in their monasteries, while deans resided in cures held in plurality. The state of Llandaff Cathedral in the time of Bishop Blethin has already been referred to.³ Poverty was one problem, but the residence of the bishop (when he was in the diocese) at Mathern, some thirty miles away, was not encouraging to the life of the cathedral. The Bishop of St David's lived even further away from his cathedral, at Abergwili, some forty-five miles distant. Neither of the southern cathedrals had a dean. At Llandaff, the archdeacon, and at St David's, the precentor, headed the chapter. In 1560, the Archdeacon of Llandaff (John Smith) resided at Exeter. Later archdeacons and precentors had other interests, and when, in the late seventeenth century, George Bull was Archdeacon of Llandaff, he found it necessary to visit the cathedral for a chapter meeting only once a year.⁴ A little later, Erasmus Saunders says that at St David's, 'there now remains scarce anything beside poor lodgings for our Chapter to keep their audit for a week or fortnight at St James' Tide, and then we are to hope for the pleasure of seeing them no more till that good season comes again.'⁵

It is possible, however, to paint too gloomy a picture, particularly of the northern cathedrals. At Llandaff in 1560, the Treasurer may well have been the only

residentiary at the cathedral; but at St Asaph, eight prebendaries out of a complement of fourteen seem to have spent at least part of their time at the cathedral; if at Bangor it was only three out of fifteen, with one dividing his time between Bangor and Oxford,⁶ it may be remembered that services in cathedrals today are conducted by one or two canons in residence at a time assisted by the vicars choral. Most of the canons at Bangor not resident at the cathedral stayed in their livings, where they would have been more fully occupied. Unfortunately, there are no reports as to residence at St David's for 1560; the only subsequent reports for the other three are from Bangor - in 1587, the dean and two prebendaries were resident; in 1617, the dean, the archdeacon of Bangor, the Chancellor and the Precentor.⁷

In this respect, the bishops set a good example for most of the period. Arthur Bulkeley (d.1555) was the first resident Bishop of Bangor for over a century and set the trend for his successors. Anthony Kitchin of Llandaff likewise was resident in his diocese. The Bishops of St Asaph were exemplary. At St David's however, after a good example from the Elizabethan bishops, Laud, Field and Mainwaring were often conspicuous by their absence.

Keeping cathedrals in a state of repair has always been a problem. In theory, provision was made in the Middle Ages by assigning tithes for this purpose - St Asaph, for instance, had those of Llansilin, Rhuddlan, and Llanasa for upkeep and lighting; Bangor similarly enjoyed Llanynys and Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd.⁸

But the return from tithes can be an uncertain factor. D.R.Thomas concludes 'that sufficient provision was made for the orderly and reverent ministrations of [St Asaph] cathedral.'⁹ Bangor Cathedral fared less well. Bishop Bulkeley had to sell the bells to pay for repairs to the roof. Bishop Rowlands re-roofed the cathedral and replaced the bells, partly out of his own pocket, and partly out of a benevolence from the clergy.¹⁰ Bishop Rowlands also left £20 in his will for lead to cover the steeple. At Llandaff, Bishop Godwin urged clergy to prompt godly folk into remembering the cathedral in their wills.¹¹

Tithes were similarly assigned to maintain the vicars choral - in theory, ten at St Asaph.¹² In compiling *The Sufferings of the Clergy*, Walker assumed that all the Welsh cathedrals had at least two vicars choral (otherwise minor or petty canons), at

St David's 'it may be more';¹³ but he makes it clear that this is an assumption, and he cannot name a single holder of such an office in Wales. However, as has been seen, a succession of vicars choral is known at St Asaph from the accession of Queen Elizabeth right through to the Civil War; at St David's, the only minor canon known is the subchanter; at Llandaff, only two vicars choral are known. *

But the absence of evidence does not mean that Walker's assumption was necessarily wrong. The situation at Bangor was distinctive, and will be discussed later.

At St Asaph, members of the Chapter were obliged from 1602 to preach in rotation, while from 1630, those who derived any income from St Asaph parish had an obligation to preach in Welsh in the parish church.¹⁴ At Bangor, Archbishop Grindal drew up a rota for the Chapter in 1576 - the Dean was to preach at Christmas and Easter, the Archdeacons of Bangor and Anglesey, and the Prebendary of Penmynydd, once a quarter, i.e. there would be a sermon monthly, and on the two principal feasts; other prebendaries were to preach in churches attached to their stall.¹⁵ However, in 1632, Prebendary John Griffith (later Precentor) said 'I never knew any set method of preaching for the said cathedral'.

Through M.L. Clarke's researches, it is possible to obtain a fuller picture of cathedral life at Bangor in this period than elsewhere. The actual conduct of services was in the hands of two stipendiary chaplains or conducts, who were paid £4 p.a. each for their services, contributions coming from the senior members of the Chapter. Bishop Bayly (in his capacity as Archdeacon of Anglesey) refused to pay, and one conduct was laid off. The conduct wore a surplice, sang the service, read the first lesson at morning and evening prayer, and read the litany on Wednesdays and Fridays.¹⁶ This shows that a regular round of daily, sung services, was duly taking place at the cathedral.

It is not clear whether the office of conduct was distinct from that of vicar choral. The only ones known in this period date to about 1620 - Rowland Roberts and Robert Rowlands (or are they the same person?)¹⁷ Robert Rowlands was a vicar choral in 1624; no one called Rowland Roberts is otherwise known. The vicars choral acted as vicars of Bangor parish and also taught in the Friars School - John Martin (1599) was highly regarded by the parents for being painstaking.¹⁸

* For cathedral/choir schools at Llandaff and St.David's, vide p.293.

Money left in Dr Glynn's will enabled ten poor boys to be paid £2 p.a. to attend the cathedral in surplices on Sundays, Holy Days and vigils; these formed the nucleus of the choir. The 'Hutchings boys' were added in 1616, and the Beddgelert scholar endowed by Maurice Wynn. From 1620, scholars were appointed by the dean with consideration for their aptitude for singing. Thomas Martin, usher of the Friars School, son of John, did much to promote singing at the cathedral. He claimed to have taught one boy four or five services¹⁹ and twelve or sixteen anthems, 'and hath brought up four or five boys prettily in the skill of music.'²⁰ It would be interesting to know if William Farrant was able to make any comparable contribution at St Asaph, where he was vicar choral in 1629. *

The musical establishment was completed with the services of an organist. From the time of Bishop Rowlands he was paid a proper salary (possibly again from contributions from the senior canons.) Trouble arose, however, in the time of Bishop Bayly, who 'took the government of all things into his hands.' In 1632, soon after his death, there was said to be no 'constant organist'. Thomas Boulton, who had held the position, complained of his salary not being paid.²¹ This, and the reduction of the conducts, suggest that Bishop Bayly may have had a puritanical disapproval of church music. Bishop Bulkeley established a library at the cathedral in 1552 which had two English Bibles and one Latin one among its volumes. It had an upper reading room with a fire, ledges, seats and forms. It was dismantled in 1617, the books 'borrowed' and no^t returned.²²

The picture which emerges from Bangor is of a cathedral functioning in the way Anglican cathedrals usually do, with daily services, sung on Sundays and major festivals, with a choir and established musical tradition - this despite the problems of keeping the church and residentiaries' houses in a decent state of repair. There is even a touch of Barchester Towers about it. There is no reason to think that St Asaph was less well served, and in the absence of evidence to the contrary, Llandaff and St David's may have conformed more or less to the same standards as the northern cathedrals.

As has been seen, a succession of prebendaries was appointed to the collegiate church of Brecon, and the evidence of both Bishop Laud's diary and Bishop Mainwaring's register is that it was used virtually as a second cathedral. With the collegiate church

* On music at St David's, vide Cathedral Clergy, n.26.

of Llanddewi Brefi, the evidence is much less certain. It has to be wondered whether, from soon after its foundation in the thirteenth century, it was anything by a collection of non-resident sinecures. Certainly from the fourteenth century, the prebends were used mainly for the benefit of the higher clergy and royal administrators, among whom was the great William of Wykeham. Bishop Guy de Mohne (1397 - 1407) complained of the neglect of the clergy houses and chancels, of pastoral care and hospitality. In 1545, it was described as a church 'which should have been made a college ... the which was never executed or done.'²³ Its dissolution was probably, therefore, a loss of church revenues rather than the closing down of an institution which was spiritually alive. Whether it could have been revitalised in the circumstances of late Tudor and early Stuart Wales is doubtful. The same has to be said for other collegiate churches which were dissolved, Caer Gybi, Swansea, and Clynog Fawr, though the first two certainly involved a diminution of pastoral provision. The spirit of the age was for foundations of an educational or charitable nature; Gabriel Goodman responded to that spirit in founding his grammar school and almshouses at Ruthin. It would have been more fortunate for the Church in Wales if the example of English institutions like Magdalen College, Brackley, had been followed - a body which transformed itself from a chantry into a grammar school one step ahead of the Henrician commissioners.

Note.

It may be noted in passing that one of the miscellaneous Llanllyfni Papers (vide infra, pp.236ff) is an order from King Charles (probably prompted by Archbishop Laud) to the Dean and Chapter of St. Asaph, forbidding the conversion of leases into lives, or the grant of leases for lives, 'to the impoverishment of the Church and discouragement of residence'.²⁴

Notes 1 - 23 - Appendix

1. D.R.Thomas *St Asaph* (London 1888), p.78; W.Hughes, *Bangor* (London, 1911), p.89.
2. M.L.Clarke, *Bangor Cathedral* (Cardiff, 1969) pp.91, 93.
3. *Supra* p. 38
4. *DWB*.
5. *Op.cit.*, p.22.
6. Glanmor Williams, 'The Elizabethan Settlement of Religion in Wales and the Marches 1559 - 60' (*JHSCW* II, No.5, 1950).
7. Clarke *op.cit.*, p.44.
8. Thomas, *op.cit.*, pp.52 - 3; Hughes, *op.cit.*, p.52.
9. Thomas, *ibid*.
10. Hughes,, p.89. On the charge that Bishop Bayly neglected the fabric of the Cathedral (which he denied) *vide supra*, p.68; Clarke *op.cit.*, p.21.
11. *Supra* p.57. For improvements at Llandaff under Bishops Babington and Murray, *vide supra*. pp. 77, n.112.
12. Thomas *op.cit.*, pp.52 - 3.
13. pp.2, 3, 17, 38.
14. Thomas, *op.cit.*, p.78.
15. Clarke, *op.cit.*, p.45.
16. *Ibid*, p.55.
17. *Ibid.*, p.118. If Bishop Bayly refused to contribute, there should by 1620 have been only one conduct.
18. *Ibid.*, pp.55 - 6.
19. Presumably settings of the service, e.g. those by William Byrd. The Very Rev. J.Wyn Evans supports my supposition that the services at the Welsh cathedrals at this time were sung in English.
20. Clarke *op.cit.*, p.56.
21. *Ibid.*, p.55.
22. *Ibid.*, p.89.
23. Glanmor Williams, 'The Collegiate Church of Llanddewi Brefi' (*Ceredigion IV*, 1960 - 63) pp.336 ff. This is probably the most comprehensive and accessible account of the church.
24. Llanllyfni Papers, p.282.

THE WELSH SINECURE CLERGY 1558 - 1642

This chapter is concerned with the Welsh clergy in this period who held sinecure rectories and other offices. It is chiefly concerned with those who were not also, or did not become, bishops or cathedral clergy, who have been noted elsewhere, though account is taken of them in considering the use to which sinecures were put. Those in Wales in this period fall into two categories. There were, first, parishes with both a clerical rector and vicar, the latter with responsibility for the care of God's people; the rectory was sometimes divided among comportioners - no more than two in Wales, though Bromyard in Herefordshire, for instance, had three 'portionists'.¹ As might be expected, it was often the richer parishes which supported both a sinecure rector and a vicar, several of them situated in the lush pastures of the Clwyd Valley. But it was not always so. Abererch had a sinecure rector and a vicar, at least at the beginning of our period, a parish in the rugged terrain of Llyn which was supporting a vicar on only £6 (nominal) stipend.² It is worth noting that after the Restoration, when some very modest reforms were carried out, poorer sinecures were sometimes united with their vicarages - as at Llansannan in 1696.³ The other kind of sinecure was the headship of a collegiate foundation. Such foundations were vulnerable under the reforms of Henry VIII and Edward VI, even if they were colleges of secular clergy, rather than monks. As has been seen * the College of Abergwili was refounded at Brecon; Llanddewi Brefi survived, only to perish under Elizabeth I. Another casualty was Caer Gybi (Holyhead). The provostship of Clynnog Fawr, however, survived when the church ceased to be collegiate - probably because at the crucial time it was in the gift of the powerful Earl of Pembroke.⁴ The sinecure rectory of Aberdaron was saved and reconstituted, partly at least through the influence of another powerful man, Bishop John Williams of Lincoln.⁵ The wardenship of Swansea seems to have survived the accession of Elizabeth in the person of its last holder, and then perished (see below) - a pity, as the Warden also acted as Curate of Oystermouth.⁶ But it was not all survival or loss. Gabriel Goodman's foundation of the college at Ruthin (in fact almshouses) created a post of warden not unlike some of those which had disappeared at the Reformation.⁷ The 'disappearance' usually took the form of the impropriation of revenues by a member of the local gentry.

* supra, p.114.

Sinecure rectories seem to have been created in the middle ages as a kind of retirement post - a useful device in days when there were no clerical pensions. Occasionally, during the period in question, there are instances of an appointment to a sinecure of someone retiring from the parochial ministry. But there was always a temptation to use them as 'jobs for the boys' - offices which could be conferred on friends and relatives, for which little or nothing was expected in return. Pope Innocent III, with his great principle, 'Let nothing come before the care of souls', had been concerned about such an abuse at the beginning of the thirteenth century. To the Reformers, with their strong pastoral sense, the right use - or, alternatively, abolition - of sinecures was a test of how sincerely the Reformation was being carried out. Apart from their occasional use as retirement posts, sinecure offices seem to have been used for the following purposes:

- 1 to supplement the poor stipends of the Welsh bishops; surely preferable to combining the bishopric with a cathedral post or wealthy parish (both of which were also done) where the bishop had little chance of discharging his duties in person;
- 2 as a scholarship to encourage promising young men (or even boys) in their studies - as has been seen with some cathedral canonries; *
- 3 as an encouragement to men of academic distinction, possibly to establish a connection with someone from outside the diocese;
- 4 to supplement the income of the incumbent of an important but badly endowed parish (Mold, for instance).⁸

Where none of these are known factors in the appointment of a particular sinecure office holder, they may nevertheless have influenced it. But there seems to have been a residue of jobbery about some of these appointments, and it is questionable how much some sinecurists gave to a diocese in return for the favours which they received.

In this chapter, the sinecure clergy will be studied diocese by diocese. It quickly becomes apparent that there was great variation between the dioceses. St Asaph had twenty-three sinecures, Bangor only eight. St David's had fourteen, but some were

* supra, p.94.

left vacant for long periods. Llandaff had none. The three dioceses with sinecures will be examined

- 1 at the beginning of Elizabeth I's reign, on the basis of the returns sent in by Bishop Davies and Bishop Meyrick for St Asaph and Bangor, and at a comparable date (1560) for St David's;
- 2 between 1560 and 1583, dividing Elizabeth's reign with the appointment of Whitgift to Canterbury;
- 3 from 1583 to 1603;
- 4 from the accession of James I to William Laud's appointment to London (1628);
- 5 from the supremacy of Laud to the outbreak of the Civil War, 1628 - 42.

It is hoped in this way to discover if there were any significant differences in the way sinecure offices were used, particularly as a result of the influence of either Whitgift or Laud on the Church. As there were so few appointments in St David's between 1603 and 1642 it is proposed to examine that diocese under the Stuarts as a single period.

1 St Asaph

Twenty-one sinecure clergy are known in St Asaph in Bishop Davies' return. Griffith Jones was holding two sinecures, Cilcain and Ysceifiog. A Rector of Llansanffraid-ym-Mechain and a first Comportioner of Llansannan are not known in 1560; they were probably vacant, and existing sinecure holders were appointed, respectively in 1564 and 1561. At Llandysul, it is not clear whether two clergymen, Maurice Griffith and David ap John, shared the rectory, or whether there was an unresolved dispute between them. Griffith is returned as absent,⁹ and should therefore perhaps be discounted. Two of the sinecure holders, Maurice Burchenshaw and Hugh Puleston, have already been considered among the cathedral clergy. A third, Maurice ap Thomas, is returned by Bishop Davies as a prebendary, but his name is not known for any cathedral stall; he was probably a cursal prebendary.

Of the remaining eighteen sinecure holders, twelve were, or were probably, graduates. Three of these were legal doctors. The Christian name of Dr Ellis (Llandrillo-yn-Rhos) is not given in Bishop Davies' return, but it seems plausible to identify him as

Nicholas Ellis, who graduated as a B.C.L. at Oxford in 1531 and incorporated at Cambridge in 1537. He is described in *Alumni Oxonienses* as a 'secular chaplain', and indeed, the Dr Ellis of 1560 was not in holy orders. Henry Jones, D.C.L., was probably not in holy orders either, at least not in major orders. He was an advocate in Doctor's Commons and M.P. for Hindon in Wiltshire 1558 - 59. Edmund Meyrick the third doctor, has already received mention as Archdeacon of Bangor, but held office in St Asaph diocese as Rector of Corwen, probably from 1560 to 1607. Seven others were Bachelors of Law. The high proportion of lawyers among the sinecure clergy at this time is remarkable, but it is also noted among the cathedral clergy at this time. * Robert Rogers (Llanarmon-yn-Iâl), possibly a relative of Archdeacon Rogers, was a Bachelor of Divinity. Griffin ap Ellis (Llansanffraid Glan Conwy),¹⁰ absent in 1560 and probably under age, is likely to have been the graduate of that name of Jesus College, Oxford. Robert ap Ieuan (Caerwys) was a grammar school boy in 1560. He and David ap John may have become university students if their surnames can be read as alternatives for 'Jones' - the records of this period show interchangeability between ap Ieuan, ap John, Johns and Jones. Robert ap Ieuan alias Jones may be the same who became Vicar of Pennant in 1590. Ellis ap Richard ap John (Nannerch), Thomas Gethin (Northop), and Maurice ap Thomas (Llansannan) are not known to have any university connection. Nor is John Uroytries (Cwm), about whom nothing else is known. His surname is unusual, possibly Basque,¹¹ in which case he may have been appointed c.1554 - 8 by King Philip of Spain after his marriage to Queen Mary; he apparently remained at Cwm until 1570. Two-thirds of the sinecure office holders in St Asaph in 1560 were, therefore, graduates; if Burchenshaw and Puleston are included, the figure goes up to 70 per cent. The inclusion of the two possible university students would bring these figures up to 77 per cent and 80 per cent.

Of the eighteen clergymen under consideration, ten at some time held livings with cure in the diocese. Only three, however, - Ellis ap Richard ap John (Llandrillo-yn-Rhos), David ap John (Gresford), and Hugh ap David (Mallwyd) received their benefice before their sinecure; the others took on a cure after receiving a sinecure, Hugh Whitford (Llanllwchaearn), David Lloyd (Eglwysfach), and Hugh Roberts (Llanfyllin) only after Elizabeth's accession. Robert Rogers was beneficed in Cheshire, but only in 1565 after giving up his sinecure. Griffith Jones took on the cure of Llanmerewig in

* supra, pp.93,98.

1567, but had been Rector of Ysceifiog and also Burton-super-montem in Gloucesterhisre since 1557. Five of the eighteen clergymen had received their sinecures under Mary, while Hugh Puleston had been appointed as early as 1547. Apart from the schoolboy, Robert ap Ieuan, all of these were lawyers, and none of them beneficed in the diocese before the new reign. None of them seems to have had any difficulty in adjusting to the new régime. It would be unfair to label these sinecurists 'Vicars of Bray', but they included three survivors from the reign of Henry VIII (four counting Maurice Burchenshaw) and one from the reign of Edward VI. Some credit for the standards among the sinecurists in 1560 must go to the Marian bishop, Thomas Goldwell. Apart from the mysterious John Uroytries, there was none among them who was not either a man of learning or a pastor. But even at this early stage in Elizabeth's reign, a shift of emphasis from a legal qualification to pastoral care is discernible.

St Asaph 1560 - 83

Between Bishop Davies' return in 1560 and the appointment of Archbishop Whitgift in 1583, thirteen clergy who were given sinecures in St Asaph diocese received no higher appointment. William Hughes received the rectory of Cwm in 1574, a year after becoming bishop; William Morgan was Rector of Denbigh, 1575 - 94, before his elevation to Llandaff; Nicholas Robinson was Rector of Northop, 1562 - 84, continuing to hold the post *in commendam* when Bishop of Bangor from 1566; Thomas Banks was Rector of Caerwys, 1582 - 84, before becoming dean; Archdeacon Richard Rogers became Rector of Hope in 1569 after resigning his other appointments in the diocese.¹² Of the remaining thirteen clergy under consideration, eight were graduates - two doctors and two bachelors of law; two were bachelors of divinity; Owen Hughes (Llanarmon-yn-Iâl) seems to have been another schoolboy, who later graduated M.A. at Oxford; John Powell (Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant) was probably one of several Oxford graduates of that name. Owen Hughes would only have been six years old in 1565 when appointed to Llanarmon, but Philip Sydney was not much older when appointed to Whitford in 1564. Philip's father, Sir Henry, was President of the Council of the Marches and a close friend of Bishop Richard Davies. Sir Philip Sydney(as he became), of course, lived to be famous as a poet and courtier, but his appointment as sinecure Rector of Whitford (and, as has been seen, Prebendary

of Brecon) * was a very questionable use of the Church's resources. At least, Owen Hughes went on to take a degree and become Vicar of Holywell (1593). There is a possibility, though a remote one, that Thomas Saye (or Says), Rector of Machynlleth in 1563, was the same who was a scholar of King's College, Cambridge in 1487, but if so, he would have been about 90, and in his case the sinecure would have been very much a retirement post. Of the sinecurists appointed in this period, therefore, 61.5 per cent were graduates; the figure rises to 72 per cent if the bishops and canons who held sinecures are included, but these figures are lower than those for 1560. Six of the thirteen held livings in the diocese, four before receiving sinecures and two after; 46 per cent, as compared with 55.5 per cent for 1560. Thomas Ithel (Cilcain), a canon lawyer and a layman, was Master of Jesus College, Cambridge, a college which produced a number of Welsh clergy at this time. Thomas Thurland (Denbigh) was Rector of All Cannings in Wiltshire, a prebendary of Beverley Minster and Lincoln, and Master of the Savoy - one of the two B.D.s in this period; William Tomson (Cilcain) the other B.D. was said to be 'dwelling about London'; ** Geoffrey Barton (Llansannan) and John Powell (Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant) are returned by Bishop Davies in 1560 as prebendaries, probably like Maurice ap Thomas in 1560, they were cursal prebendaries, of stall unidentified.

Ten of these sinecurists were appointed under Bishop Thomas Davies (1561 - 73) and three under his successor, William Hughes, (1573 -1601). The latter include Henry Mostyn (Ysceifiog) - LL.D., a member of the Flintshire family of that name, Vicar of Rhuddlan and later Chancellor of Bangor, probably the most all-round 'worthy' among those appointed in this period. Two other sons of the gentry among these sinecurists were Thomas Brereton of Salop (Cilcain) and Richard Price of Montgomeryshire (Pennant - also a Comportioner of Llandinam in Bangor diocese); possibly also Owen Hughes (Anglesey)¹³ and Rice Wynne (Caernarfonshire). When Philip Sydney and Nicholas Robinson are added, it can be seen that family influence probably played a part in the appointment of seven sinecurists in this period (53.8%). It seems not unfair to suggest that in the first part of Elizabeth's reign, there was a slight fall in standards among the sinecure holders in St Asaph; an indication perhaps, of the difficulty of recruiting or attracting good men to the diocese at that time.

* supra, p.108.

** supra, p.136.

St. Asaph, 1583 – 1603.

From the appointment of Archbishop Whitgift to the death of Elizabeth, twenty-two clergy were given sinecures in St Asaph; in addition, one future Bishop of St Asaph (Richard Parry) and two future Bishops of Bangor (Hugh Bellot and Edmund Griffith) held sinecures. Parry remained Rector of Cilcain *in commendam* until 1622. Four other sinecure holders were cathedral canons - Ithel Griffith and George Smith (Cursal Prebendaries), William Vaughan and Peter Williams (Meifod). It may be noted that neither the cursal prebends nor Meifod carried much remuneration, and the sinecures, particularly Northop, held by George Smith, if less prestigious, were often more remunerative.¹⁴

Of the remaining twenty-two clergymen, seventeen were graduates; three doctors and two bachelors of divinity; ten M.A.s, one B.A. and one (John Young) who cannot be identified for certain among Oxbridge graduates of that name. The disappearance of lawyers (apart from George Smith) from the appointments, and the recruitment of five divines is remarkable. Of those receiving sinecures between 1583 and 1603, 77 per cent were graduates; 82.7 per cent if the cathedral clergy are included, and seven altogether attained the degree of doctor of divinity. This represents a notable improvement on the first half of the reign and even on 1560, and it is worthy of note that the improvement came under the much-criticised Bishop William Hughes (1573 - 1601). Two other of the sinecurists were possible university students (William Edwards and John Roberts), making the total of possible university men 86 per cent (89% including the cathedral clergy).

It must be noted, however, that only six of those who received sinecures ever held cures in the diocese (27%); four were beneficed in England (18%); Richard Puleston was beneficed both in Anglesey and Cheshire; George Lloyd was Bishop of Sodor and Man and then Chester, and Rector of Bangor-is-y-coed in 1612; Hugh Burches was beneficed in Bangor, where he was also a canon; John Williams was a canon and, later, Dean of Bangor. But no fewer than eight of those who received sinecure appointments are not known to have held any cure of souls. Pastoral care in the diocese, therefore, can hardly be said to have been the main qualification for receiving a sinecure in this period. But among those who did not take a cure, three were probably sons of the gentry (George Conway, Lawrence Kenrick, and James Yale). Three others were appointed by Lord Keeper Ellesmere during the interregnum of

1601 (Gabriel Powell, Theodore Price, and Peter Sharpe - Price on the recommendation of the Earl of Nottingham) - Ellesmere is mentioned elsewhere as a patron of learned clergymen.¹⁵ Hugh Owen (Llansannan) was probably another Cursal Canon; J(ohn?) Pryce (Llandrillo-yn-Edeirnion) cannot be identified for certain. Of the sinecurists who were beneficed in England, two were appointed by Lord Keeper Puckering¹⁶ (Thomas Pickering - possibly a relative - and Griffin Vaughan), and the group consisted of two M.A.s and two B.D.s. It may be remarked that Edwards, Richards, and Vaughan all had Welsh patronymics and may all have originated from the diocese - Edwards almost certainly, as he was ordained deacon in St Asaph.¹⁷

In conclusion on this period, it may be said that part at least of Whitgift's ideals was being realised - the encouragement of men of learning. At the same time, there is evidence of a working relationship between the diocese and the gentry - apart from those already noted, John Young, Richard Puleston, and William Lloyd all came from the gentry of the diocese; much of the success achieved in this period was due to a fruitful co-operation between the two. Gabriel Powell and possibly James Yale came from clerical families, but nepotism does not seem to have featured prominently in the appointment of sinecurists at this time.

St Asaph 1603 - 28

From the accession of James I to the appointment of William Laud to London in 1628, twenty-two clergy received sinecures in the diocese of St Asaph; this is in addition to ten cathedral canons and three vicars choral who also held sinecures, who are considered elsewhere.¹⁸ It should be remarked that whereas from 1583 to 1603 the number of cathedral clergy who were also sinecurists was seven out of twenty-nine (24%), from 1603 to 1628, the number rose to ten out of thirty-five (28.5%), or 37 per cent if the vicars choral are included. This confirms a tendency for the higher offices in the diocese to be controlled by a smaller circle of clergy, a kind of clerical aristocracy; though even in this period they amounted to only just over a third of the sinecurists.

As regards the twenty-two clergymen who were not cathedral canons, major or minor, sixteen were graduates. Nominally, this means a slight decrease from the previous period; but three others were possibly university students as against two between 1583

and 1603, so that the total proportion of (supposed) university men remains the same. However, all the cathedral clergy who held sinecures, including the vicars choral, were graduates, and this brings up the proportion from 72.7 per cent to 82.8 per cent; if the three university students are considered, the grand total comes to 91.4 per cent. This means that the sinecure offices were, in general, going to men of high academic ability. It is all the more worthy of note that, of the twenty-two, half held degrees in divinity - seven doctors and four bachelors; while among the cathedral sinecurists there were a further three doctors and three bachelors of divinity. Masters of Arts were, inevitably, fewer - four among the twenty-two; four among the canons and all three vicars choral. Of the three sinecurists not known to have studied at university, Richard Jones (Nannerch) held three livings in succession, Aberhafesb, then Tremeirchion, and finally Bodfari - the two latter near, but not adjacent to, Nannerch. Jasper Griffith (Gryffyth), the famous collector of Welsh and Latin manuscripts, was Comportioner of Llansannan.¹⁹ George Guye was appointed Rector of Northop by Lord Keeper Coventry,²⁰ following the death of Bishop Hanmer; whoever he was, he enjoyed the wealthiest sinecure in the diocese.

Two of the sinecure clergy are particularly worthy of note. Godfrey Goodman, nephew of the celebrated Gabriel Goodman, was at various times a Comportioner of Llansannan and Rector of Ysceiflog, and held the cure of Llanarmon-Dyffryn-Ceiriog before becoming Bishop of Gloucester in 1625. Pierre du Moulin, senior, was a Huguenot theologian of international reputation; a royal appointment to Llanarmon-yn-Iâl; sometime pastor of Charenton in Normandy.

Of the twenty-two sinecure clergy, all but Jasper Griffith and George Guye at some time held benefices with cure - twelve in the diocese, two in Bangor, one in St David's (Kerry, in Montgomeryshire); four in England and one in France. Those who were pastors outside Wales were all doctors of divinity, and Morgan Wynn (Cilcain and Llanrwst) was of the Denbighshire gentry, possibly related to the Wynns of Gwydir. John King (Whitford), who was also a Prebendary of Westminster and Windsor, probably owed his promotion to the Earl of Essex, whose tutor he had been.

The conclusion seems to be that in the early Stuart period, successive Bishops of St Asaph, Morgan, Parry and Hanmer, were pursuing Whitgift's ideal by conferring sinecures on clergy who were both men of learning and responsible pastors.

St Asaph 1628 - 42

In the remaining fourteen years to the Civil War, fourteen sinecure clergy were appointed. By contrast with the previous period, only one of the cathedral clergy (John Griffith - a Cursal Prebendary) received a sinecure (Llandrillo-yn-Edeirnion).

A further contrast is that, of the fourteen under consideration, only nine were graduates (64%). This number drops to 60 per cent if we include John Griffith, who may have been a university student, but is not known to have graduated. Two others may have been university students, bringing the proportion up to 78.5 per cent, or 80 per cent if Griffith is included; nevertheless, the academic qualifications of this group did not reach the high standards of the previous period.

Among the fourteen, at least four were men of distinction. George Griffith (Whitford), one of the Griffiths of Penrhyn, who held various cures in the south of the diocese, became Bishop of St Asaph in 1660. Hugh Lloyd (Denbigh) held cures in Llandaff as well as Hirnant; he became Archdeacon of Llandaff in 1644 and Bishop of Llandaff in 1660. Pierre du Moulin, junior, succeeded his father at Llanarmon in 1635; he held various livings in England. All three were doctors of divinity - the only ones in this group. William Thelwall was an M.A. who became Prebendary of Meliden in 1661; he was Rector of Whitford for nearly forty years 1634 - 1673.

By contrast, nothing further is known about Christopher Coles (Nannerch), Arthur Hadlow (Denbigh and Llanbrynmair), and John Luston (Llandrillo); they are not known on the university lists, and they are not known to have held livings. All three had English patronymics, but Hadlow and Luston received their appointments from Bishop Owen;²¹ Coles probably did. Others not known to have taken a cure of souls

are Thelwall (*supra*), Thomas Harrison (Luston's predecessor at Llandrillo), Howel Wood (Llansannan), and Oliver Morris (Machynlleth). Wood and Morris were both M.A.s, but it was probably also significant that Wood was a member of the Anglesey gentry, while Morris (probably) belonged to those of Denbighshire. Thelwall is in the Oxford records as of the Essex gentry, but the family were landed proprietors in St Asaph diocese. Edward Powell went up to Oxford from Berkshire, but his family probably originated from Wales, and he held three livings in the diocese in the 1630s. Other worthy pastors in the diocese were David Davies (Darowen) and Thomas Lloyd (Llansannan and, in 1644, Llanbrynmair); Davies and Powell were graduates, Lloyd probably an Oxford student. Lewis Hughes (Machynlleth) was a B.A., Rector of Shepperton in Middlesex.

The last group before the Civil War, therefore, presents some contrasts. Four were certainly distinguished, and three others gave pastoral service to the diocese. Four had Welsh origins or connections, but are not known to have taken any cure; three others had no known degree, cure, or even connection with Wales. In George Griffith and Hugh Lloyd, the group included two leaders of the Restoration Church, but it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that, as a whole, they represent a fall from the high standards attained in the Whitgift and post-Whitgift eras.

2 Bangor 1560

In the Bangor diocese, eight sinecure clergy are known in 1560. One of these, Griffith Jones (Comportioner of Llanelidan), was also a sinecure holder in St Asaph (Cilcain, etc.) One of the Comportioners of Llandinam in 1560 was Richard Davies, soon to become Bishop of St Asaph, then St David's, and has already been dealt with.²²

The rest may be mentioned individually. Henry Symons, Provost of Clynnog Fawr, was not merely absent, but it was 'uncertain where he remaineth'.²³ There must at least be a possibility that he found the Elizabethan Settlement unacceptable, and fled to the Continent. He is known to have died in 1564. Thomas Price (Aberdaron) was Vicar of Llansanffraid-Glan-Conwy in St Asaph diocese; he may be the same who became Rector of Heneglwys in Anglesey in 1579. He was sometime chaplain to the Earl of Arundel, who may have helped him to obtain his appointment to Aberdaron in 1559.

John Gwyn (Llanrhaeadr-yng-Nghinmeirch) was returned as non-resident and residing at churches in London.²⁴ He was apparently a fellow of St John's College, Cambridge, and therefore presumably, but not necessarily, a graduate. He may have been the same who became Vicar of Llangurig in 1561. Richard Ellis (Comportioner of Llandinam) was an LL.B. He resided at Newtown, Montgomeryshire. Whether he served the diocese in legal matters must be a matter of speculation. John Oxenburgh, or Oxenbridge, was a student at Oxford. He was already an M.A. in 1560, and later became a B.D.²⁵ He had to litigate to secure the rectory of Llanynys against Thomas Mylle, described in Bishop Meyrick's return as the 'pretended parson.' Mylle was sometime steward to the Earl of Arundel, who probably tried to nominate him during the interregnum in the diocese in 1559. Oxenburgh became Rector of Southam in Warwickshire in 1572,²⁶ but he is not known to have taken a cure in Bangor. John Roberts held the sinecure rectory of Abererch (nominally worth £1.13s.4d) while still a student at St John's College, Cambridge. It is not known whether he ever graduated, or what his subsequent career was.

It is worthy of note that not one of the sinecure clergy was resident in the diocese. As has been seen, John Gwyn and Thomas Price may subsequently have taken livings, and Richard Ellis may have been some kind of legal adviser. It is not clear how many of them were appointed before, and how many of them after, the Elizabethan Settlement, but they compare unfavourably with the sinecure clergy of St Asaph at the same period.

Bangor 1560 - 82

Again, eight sinecure clergy are known to have been appointed in the first part of Elizabeth's reign. Hugh Burches (Llandinam, 1582) has already been considered as a prebendary of Bangor.²⁷ Richard Thelwall (Llanelidan, 1564 - 80) is not known to have been a university man, and nothing is known of his subsequent career, though he probably came from the well-known Thelwall family. The remaining six in this set were all graduates, five M.A.s, and one LL.B. - a figure of 85.7 per cent, or 87.5 per cent if Hugh Burches is included. William Wilson (Provost of Clynnog Fawr, later a D.D.) was Rector of Islip and a Canon of Windsor, Rochester, and St Paul's - a distinguished man, though he probably gave little service to Bangor diocese. Hugh

Goodman (Llanelidan) was Vicar of Marcham and Stanford-in-the-Vale, Berkshire (both Westminster Abbey livings) and in 1607 a prebendary of Westminster; his service to the diocese was as Master of Ruthin Grammar School (1582). Thomas Bennett (Llanrhaeadr-yng-Nghinmeirch) was also Vicar of Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd; Owen Davies (Llandinam) was Rector of Mellteyrn. David Vaughan was appointed to Llandinam in 1577; if he is the same man who graduated at Gloucester Hall, Oxford, in 1582, this is another example of a sinecure-scholarship. He became Rector of Bridell, Pembrokeshire, in 1604. As in St Asaph, a shift of balance took place from lawyers to arts graduates. Unlike St Asaph, the first phase of the Elizabethan period in Bangor showed a marked improvement in both the number of graduates among the sinecure clergy, and in evidence of their service to the diocese. William Wilson, the distinguished outsider, was appointed to Clynnog Fawr by the Earl of Pembroke, as was his predecessor, Hugh Morgan,²⁸ the latter, however, was an insider, Rector of Trefdraeth.

Bangor 1583 - 1603

Only three appointments are known to sinecure offices in this period. Of these, Richard Parry (Llanelidan, 1584), and Henry Rowlands (Aberdaron, 1588) have already been noted as bishops, respectively, of St Asaph and Bangor.²⁹ Edward Puleston (Llanynys, 1587) was an M.A. of Oxford, and sprang from the Denbighshire gentry. He is not known to have taken a cure of souls, either in Bangor diocese or elsewhere.

Two reasons for the small number of appointments deserve comment. Sir John Wynn purchased the comportion of Llanelidan to endow the schoolmaster at Llanrwst in 1595.³⁰ Also, between 1574 and 1620, the rectory of Llanrhaeadr-yng-Nghinmeirch was held by the Bishops of Bangor *in commendam* - a practice that in individual cases was fairly frequent with sinecure benefices. The other reason is that, particularly in the Bangor diocese, tenure of sinecures tended to be protracted. Edward Puleston seems to have held Llanynys for thirty-six years (1587 - 1623) and William Wilson Clynnog Fawr for forty-one (1574 - 1615). In St Asaph, tenure seems often to have been shorter - Robert Rogers, Thomas Banks, Thomas Brereton, Philip Sydney, Hugh

Bellot, and Edward Richards are all instances of sinecurists in the diocese who held their office for two years or less.

Bangor 1603 - 28

In the earlier part of the Stuart period, nine sinecure clergy are known to have been appointed in Bangor. Two of these, Robert White (Clynnog Fawr - to which he was appointed by Roland White p.h.v.) and John Bayly (Warden of Ruthin) have already been considered as cathedral prebendaries.³¹ Two of them indicate a French connection - Pierre du Moulin senior (Llanrhaeadr-yng-Nghinmeirch), already noted as a sinecurist in St Asaph, and Paul de la Ravoyr (Llandinam); the latter has not been identified except as a sinecurist also in St David's; he may have been related to one of the Huguenot de la Rivières who ministered in England. Neither was beneficed in the diocese. Others not beneficed were Thomas Powell (Aberdaron) and David Vaughan (Llandinam), while William Dolben (Llanynys) was beneficed in St David's and in England, and George Herbert (Llandinam) in Salisbury. The latter was the famous poet, who will receive mention later.³² It is said that Bishop Williams of Lincoln procured his appointment to Llandinam, along with a prebend of Lincoln, as a step towards persuading him into the pastoral ministry and to his world-famous if brief term at Fuggleston with Bemerton.³³ William Dolben came from a Pembrokeshire branch of the Caernarfonshire family,³⁴ and was nominated bishop in 1631, but died before his consecration. With four of the nine sinecurists (apparently)unbeneficed and two beneficed out of the diocese, pastoral service hardly featured prominently with this group. The two cathedral clergy and John Williams (Warden of Ruthin and Comportioner of Llandinam) all held cures in the diocese, but Robert White and John Williams also had commitments elsewhere; John Bayly, the bishop's son, was more committed to the diocese than the others. Dolben and Williams were D.D.s, as were White and Bayly, and also Pierre du Moulin; Thomas Powell was a B.D. and George Herbert an M.A. - 71 per cent graduates in the group, or 77 per cent if the cathedral clergy are included.

Bangor 1628 - 42

In the last period before the Civil War, six clergy are known to have received sinecures, and none of them was a prebendary of the cathedral, a point of resemblance

with St Asaph at the same period. All were men of some distinction. Five of them were graduates, four doctors of divinity, while the fifth, Patrick Young (Llanynys), a graduate of St Andrew's, was a renowned Greek scholar. The sixth, David Lloyd (Warden of Ruthin), was probably an Oxford student. All held benefices with cure, but Francis Gibbons and William Beale (both Aberdaron) and Patrick Young all held parishes in England (Gibbons in Shropshire). However, the other three were all beneficed in the diocese; David Lloyd held Llangynhafal and Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd, close to Ruthin and Hugh Williams (Llandinam) was the long-serving Rector of Llantrisant; Thomas Bayly, one of the Bishop Bayly's sons, had commitments outside the diocese as well as inside. William Beale was Master of St John's College, Cambridge, a college with which the diocese had particularly close connections.³⁵ Patrick Young was presented to Llanynys by Lord Keeper Coventry during the interregnum of 1634.³⁶ While the sinecure holders in Bangor did not as a group entirely live up to the Whitgiftian ideal in this or any other period under consideration, by contrast with St Asaph, the last years before the Civil War seem to have seen an improvement in standards, and the men appointed in those years all seem to have been learned and worthy.

St David's 1560

As no return is extant for St David's in 1560, the evidence is more patchy, but it is possible to put together some kind of picture. Eight sinecure clergy are known in 1560; of these, John Gwynne (Tenby) and Thomas Martin (Warden of Swansea) held prebends at Llanddewi Brefi and Brecon respectively, and have been considered under those churches.³⁷ Both were appointed in 1554.

Little is known about the other six. John Griffith (Angle) was also Vicar of Rock and Rector of Henry's Moat. He was appointed to Rock and Angle by the Crown, to Henry's Moat by John Wogan. He may be identical with an Oxford student of that name.

Dr Vaughan (Carew) may be Griffith Vaughan or Richard Vaughan; he was probably a legal doctor. Peter Hedd (St Florence 1557 and Llanddewi Velfry 1558) was appointed by the Crown; he was an M.D. and possibly a royal doctor. He is not recorded among the students of Oxford or Cambridge, but may have qualified at one

of the great medical universities abroad, such as Padua. Hugh Beddoes (Crickhowell), William Deedes (Laugharne) and James Bassett (Llanboidy) are not known to have been university men, or to have taken a cure of souls. Beddoes was appointed by Thomas Williams of Monmouth,³⁸ William Deedes by Sir John Perrot.³⁹ The sinecure rectory of Stackpole Elider seems to have been left vacant between the death of William Latymer in 1545 and the appointment of William Awbrey in 1591.

There is no evidence that any of these clergy were resident, or, apart from Griffith, involved in the pastoral ministry.

St David's 1560 - 83

Again, eight clergy, none of them prebendaries, are known to have received sinecures in the early part of Elizabeth's reign. David ap Jenkin (Llanllwchaearn) was a graduate; John Duncomb (Angle) and William Lawrence (Crickhowell) were almost certainly the graduates of those names. Lawrence was a B.D. ap Jenkin and Duncomb were B.A.s. Richard Sharp (Llangeler), William Watkins (Cwm Du) and Nicholas Shawe (Llanddewi Velfry) were probably the university students of those names. William Heston (Llangeler and Llanddewi Velfry) and Thomas James (Crickhowell) are not known to have been university men. Seventy-five per cent of the group may therefore have studied at university, but only 37.5 per cent may have graduated.

Three of these sinecure clergy possibly took cure of souls, ap Jenkin (St Ismael's), Lawrence (Llangattock) and James (Merthyr Cynog), the first two after, the last before, receiving a sinecure. James moved from Merthyr Cynog to Crickhowell in 1580, possibly as a retirement post. John Duncomb was a canon of York (1576) before being appointed to Angle. Nothing more is known of William Heston.

There are indications, therefore, of an improvement in academic qualifications and some greater pastoral involvement during the period. Three of the clergy mentioned (William Lawrence, Thomas James, and William Watkins) were appointed by the Earl of Worcester.⁴⁰ William third Earl of Worcester (died 1589), though a Roman Catholic, sent his sons to Oxford University, and it is perhaps no coincidence that Lawrence was a B.D. (incorporated at Oxford from Cambridge) and Watkins probably an Oxford student. Lord Worcester also appointed Lawrence to Llangattock.⁴¹

St David's 1583 - 1603

Only three sinecure clergy appointed in the second part of Elizabeth's reign can be traced. All are known to have been graduates. William Awbrey has already received mention as a prebendary.⁴² But his appointment in 1591 to the five sinecures of Llangeler, Llanddewi Velfry, Llandysul, Stackpole Elider, and Tenby was quite exceptional, particularly as he received them at the age of eighteen. Family influence no doubt played a large part in his appointment. The Awbreys were an armigerous and important family of Breconshire. One member of the family, John (q.v.) was Vicar of Penbryn and Prebendary of Llanwrthwl in Brecon Collegiate Church early in Elizabeth's reign. He was appointed to the former by Lord Keeper Bacon.⁴³ William owed his string of sinecures to Lord Keeper Puckering,⁴⁴ and the rectory of Llanmadog, to which he was appointed in 1610, to Lord Chancellor Ellesmere.⁴⁵ This suggests that the family kept well in with Court circles. William was Chancellor from 1614 to 1622 and Prebendary of Llanwrthwl from 1613 to 1618, a position held by a third member of the family (Richard) from 1623. William also held the rectories of Llanfrynach and Cantref in Breconshire and Richard was Vicar of Bochrwyd, Radnorshire. He and John Farrar (Angle) were appointed by Lord Keeper Puckering during the interregnum in 1591. Farrar was Rector of Washington in Sussex, but in 1593 he became Principal of New Inn Hall, Oxford, an important institution for training of clergy. Robert Roberts (Llanddewi Velfry) was appointed earlier, in 1583. He was a B.D. of Jesus College, Oxford, and was probably the same who became Rector of Knockin, Salop, in the diocese of St Asaph in 1599. He is not known to have had any further connection with St. David's diocese.

St David's under the Stuarts

Only a handful of clergy appointed to sinecures are known after 1603, and several of these were cathedral clergy. Five are known in the period before William Laud became bishop in 1621. Lewis Williams has already been considered as Prebendary of Caerfarchell;⁴⁶ he was Rector of St Florence until 1607, and his appointment may have come before the death of Elizabeth. Robert Rudd, Archdeacon of St David's, succeeded him. Richard Middleton, Archdeacon of Cardigan (son of Bishop Marmaduke Middleton), was sinecure Rector of both Stackpole Elider and Tenby from

1617. Humphrey Aylworth (Llandysul) held a string of livings in England, but William Kenvin (Crickhowell) is not known to have held a cure. All five of these sinecurists were graduates, though, apart from Archdeacon Rudd, none is known to have proceeded beyond B.A.

While Laud was bishop, three clergy were appointed to sinecures. Paul de la Ravoyr, the (supposed) Huguenot encountered in Bangor, was appointed Rector of Angle in 1621. Francis White succeeded him the following year. John Rock was appointed Rector of Tenby in 1624, a post he held for twenty years. In 1642, perhaps in response to the changed ecclesiastical climate, he became Rector of Butleigh in Somerset. He is the only one of the three known to have held a cure, and the only one known to have been a graduate, though Francis White may have been a university student. All these three were Crown appointments, and therefore do not reflect particularly on Bishop Laud, but rather on his great rival, Bishop Williams, who was at that time Lord Keeper.⁴⁷

After Bishop Laud's time at St David's, five clergy are known to have received sinecures in St David's. Three of them were also cathedral prebendaries: Thomas Prichard (Stackpole Elider and Llandysul); Richard Prichard (Chancellor) and Robert Prichard (Crickhowell, both portions); these have already been taken into consideration.⁴⁸ William George (Stackpole Elider) became a Cursal Canon in 1643, after the termination of the period under discussion. Robert Prichard was probably a university student; the rest are known to have been graduates. Thomas Prichard was a D.D. The remaining sinecurist in this period was John Ganwy de la Champagnolle (Angle) who is not otherwise known, but from his name seems likely to have been another Huguenot.

Social and Geographical Origins of the Sinecure Clergy

Of 96 sinecurists in the St Asaph diocese, the social background may be surmised for 29, well under a third. Of these, 18 came from the gentry (62%). The only knight's son among them was Philip Sydney, Rector of Whitford while still a schoolboy. In Bangor, seven out of eleven whose background may be supposed were sons of the gentry (63%); again they include one knight's son destined to become a famous poet - George Herbert. In St David's the background of only two sinecurists is known.

Both matriculated at Oxford as plebeians, but this is hardly more significant than that both happened to be called William! Seven of the St Asaph sinecurists under consideration were plebeians (24%), three in Bangor (27%); four of those in St Asaph came from clerical families (13.79%), one in Bangor (9%). The St Asaph contingent included a son of a Bishop of Bangor (John Bayly), and also Godfrey Goodman - son of a gentleman, but nephew of the Dean of Westminster, Gabriel Goodman; not easy to categorise socially.

The geographical background of somewhat more sinecure clergy may be surmised. Of those in St Asaph, twenty-three are known to have come from Wales, twenty-two of them from North Wales (including two from Montgomeryshire). To these, perhaps, should be added William Thelwall, who, although entered at Oxford as from Essex, was related to the Denbighshire family of that name. If three sinecurists from Shropshire are added, the proportion of those from Wales among thirty-four of known origins is 79.4%. If those with Welsh patronymics are included, 76% of the whole 96 sinecurists in St Asaph had Welsh connections.⁴⁹ Those from outside include John King (Norfolk), John Uroytries (presumably Spanish) and the two du Moulins (French). Another (supposed) Frenchman, Paul de la Ravoyr, held sinecures in both Bangor and St David's, as did John Ganwy de Champagnolle in the latter. In Bangor, ten out of the fourteen sinecurists known came from Wales (71.4%), all but one of these from North Wales, including one from Montgomeryshire; two came from the Marches, one was a Frenchman and one a Scot. Out of all the Bangor sinecurists, known Welshmen and those with Welsh patronymics amount to 65.6% of the whole, 67.6% if the two from the Marches are included. It is interesting that the Welsh contingent should apparently be lower in Bangor, the most thoroughly Welsh of dioceses, than in St Asaph. None of the Bangor sinecurists has the characteristic 'ap' form of surname - as against six in St Asaph and one in St David's. Another St Asaph sinecurist was known alternatively by place of origin and family - 'Hugh Whitford alias Price'.

In St David's, the evidence is more sketchy. Of a total of thirty-six sinecurists known there, eleven had Welsh surnames - twelve if Hugh Beddoes is included. William George is known to have come from Denbighshire. William Kinfyn (?Cynefin) from Herefordshire should probably be added; Thomas James and James Bassett probably

came from Glamorgan gentry families. At the most, sixteen of the thirty-six (44%) were Welsh - evidence again of appointments in St David's going to men with little connection with Wales.

It is difficult to make generalisations about the sinecurists in St David's: they were few in number, their appointments sometimes patchy, and they were appointed by various patrons - the Crown and the landowners as well as the Bishop. It is more difficult, therefore, to see their appointment as part of a policy by successive bishops, at least as considered by itself. The Bishop of St David's was in the powerful position of having not only the cathedral prebends, but also those of Brecon and (when it was operating) Llanddewi Brefi, at his disposal, and it is chiefly to the holders of these prebends that one should look for a 'clerical aristocracy' in the diocese. With St Asaph, the large number of sinecures and the absence of any prebends apart from the cathedral made their holders collectively more of a clerical upper class. Bangor occupies something of a middle position; apart from Clynnog Fawr, the bishop seems to have had control of the sinecures, but there is evidence under the Stuarts of their being granted to favour some powerful patron, such as Bishop Williams, or Sir John Wynn, rather as they were in St David's. In Bangor, the clerical ruling class seems to have gone in for a combination of cathedral posts and key parishes - a formula which perhaps came closest to the Reformation ideal. Judicious handling of the sinecures was one of the areas where the Church in this period (1558 - 1642) was most vulnerable to criticism. In all three dioceses, at least for part of the time, bishops and other patrons tried to dispose of them to men who were learned and giving some service to the Church and preferably the diocese. Among the uses to which sinecures were put, education should not be forgotten. Like prebends, some sinecures in St Asaph and Bangor were used to support boys at school, students at university, both under-graduate and post-graduate, and, a portion of Llanellidan, to pay a schoolmaster. Such purposes were in accord with the spirit of the age in promoting education and learning.⁵⁰

Notes - Chapter 3

1. LV, p.144
2. VE
3. DRT II, p.57. The rectory and vicarage of Caerwys were similarly united, LV p.347.
4. LI IV, p.195.
5. W.J.Elliss, *The Church of Saint Hywyn, Aberdaron* (Church Guide Book: Aberdaron, undated), p.8.
6. Church Notice Board, Oystermouth. A Perpetual Curate is recorded there in 1671, but none in between. *ibid*.
7. DRT II, p.126.
8. According to VE, the vicarage of Mold was worth £10 p.a. The inappropriate rectory was worth £30.
9. Was he possibly a recusant?
10. This is the only known instance within the period of this parish having a sinecure rector.
11. I am indebted to one of my pupils, Amaya Urrutia, for pointing out that names beginning with UR- are common in the Basque region.
12. For Hughes and Robinson see *Welsh Bishops*, pp. 33 and 30 respectively; for Morgan, *Welsh Bishops*, p.51 for Banks and Rogers see *Cathedral Clergy* pp.92-3
13. He is entered in AO as 'pleb.'
14. For Parry and Bellot see *Welsh Bishops*, pp.59 and 48 respectively; for Griffith see *Welsh Bishops*, p.70 ; for Ithel Griffith, Smith, Vaughan and Williams see *Cathedral Clergy* lists (St Asaph 66, 64, 13; Bangor 3). The Cursal Prebends are quoted in LV as worth £2. 6s. 8d or £2. 10s. 7½d; Meifod is quoted as worth £3. 6s. 8d. The rectory of Northop is quoted as worth £39. 14s. 6d. in VE and £49. 14s. 9½d. in LV.
15. Tanner MS 179 f57v. For Ellesmere's patronage see *infra*, *Patronage and Sureties*.
16. Lansdowne MS 445 ff.14v.66.
17. DRT II, 229.
18. Supra, *Cathedral Clergy* passim.
19. DWB
20. Croombe Court Collection 901/88
21. LI IV, pp.150, 148.
22. Supra, *Welsh Bishops 1*, p.27.

23. RM
24. *ibid.* He was a member of the Wynn family of Gwydir and a lawyer, DWB.
25. He was at Christ Church in 1566, C.M.Dent, *Protestant Reformers in Elizabethan Oxford* (Oxford, 1983), p.22
26. Southam, Warwickshire, became a stronghold of Puritanism with influence over a wide area in the Midlands. For connections with the Leicestershire Puritans see Chalmers, *op. cit. passim*.
27. *Supra*, *Cathedral Clergy* p.99
28. AIP, pp.18, 22.
29. *Welsh Bishops II*, pp. 59, 54.
30. DRT II, p.92, Gabriel Goodman acted as intermediary.
31. *Cathedral Clergy*, p.100 (White); *Welsh Bishops III* p.99 (Bayly).
32. *Communicating the Faith*, *infra*, pp. 341-3
33. Izaak Walton, *Life of Mr George Herbert*. There are numerous editions of this work and other studies of Herbert. In World's Classics Series (Oxford, 1927), p.278.
34. DWB
35. The Bangorian scholarships founded by Bishop Vaughan.
36. Croombe Court Collection 902/510.
37. *Cathedral Clergy*, p.108 (Martin); for Gwynne see St David's Cathedral Clergy list 32.
38. TJ III, p.145.
39. BBCS, 131.
40. TJ III, p.287; p.145 (two refs.) As a recusant, Lord Worcester may in fact have forfeited his rights of patronage to Oxford University - Barratt, *op. cit.*, p.372.
41. *ibid*, p.169. On the Earls of Worcester, see Henry Dircks, *The Life and Scientific Labours of the Second Marquis of Worcester* (London, 1865) *passim*.
42. *Cathedral Clergy*, p.107
43. Lans. MS.443, f.79.
44. Lans. MS. 445, f.10.
45. Tanner MS. 179, f.139v.
46. *Cathedral Clergy List (St.David's)*, No.33 (Vol.II, p.30).
47. LI IV, pp.5, 7.
48. *Cathedral Clergy*, list, (St. David's 35, 27, 89).
49. This number includes Edward Powell, who is known to have come from Berkshire, but presumably from a Welsh family settled there.
50. *vide supra*, p.114. and 'The Welsh Cathedral Clergy', nn. 14, 43.

THE PAROCHIAL CLERGY

The General Situation

At the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, there was, quite simply, a shortage of clergy.¹ Successive changes in religion since 1529 - 33, uncertainty about the future, the general contempt into which the priesthood had fallen, and the ejection of married clergy under Queen Mary, all contributed to a shortage situation.² Poor remuneration for the many and the bar to high secular office for the ambitious few, also acted as deterrents.³ The shortage was widespread:- it has been reckoned that between ten and fifteen per cent of benefices over the country as a whole were vacant,⁴ but there were regional variations. In London and Canterbury dioceses - in the front line in any religious changes - up to a third of livings may have been vacant.⁵ In the Oxford diocese, always benefiting from proximity to the university, under ten per cent of livings appear to have been vacant,⁶ below the national average. A high mortality rate in 1558 - 9 due to epidemic diseases, added to the problem. The shortage was countered at different rates in different parts of the country. In Lincolnshire, it was still a problem half way through the reign.⁷

As well as the problem of livings without an incumbent, there were others where the parson was non-resident, either as a pluralist or as an absentee. In Surrey, 21 parishes in 1562 were held in plurality and 4 had an absentee incumbent - indeed, three of the 'plum' parishes in the county (Ash, Cheam and Woodmansterne) were habitually held by a non-resident parson.⁸ In Gloucester diocese, 48 clergy out of 247 (19%) were pluralists.⁹ In Oxford and Worcester dioceses, the number is difficult to calculate due to uncertainty as to when men vacated their livings.¹⁰ The same is true generally of the Welsh dioceses, though Barratt notes that in three of them, very few dispensations for plurality were issued - five each in St Asaph and Llandaff, four in Bangor; this compares with ten in the same period in Carlisle, and sixty-three in Exeter.¹¹

The general shortage of clergy may well have led the authorities to treat those they had circumspectly, particularly in the remoter parts of the country. Thus, Wilson believes that in Durham diocese, the 1559 Settlement was not enforced very rigorously,¹² while Hajzyk notes that even after the turn of the century in Lincolnshire, admonitions to clergymen who mis-behaved were seldom followed up to check on compliance.¹³

Absence of consistory court records in Wales makes it impossible to draw conclusions about standards of clerical discipline in the Principality.

Once the supply of clergy improved, bishops could be more discriminating in whom they admitted to the sacred ministry.¹⁴ In particular, bishops sought to increase the number of university-trained men, preferably graduates, in the ministry. One objective was to increase the number of men competent to preach, though not all graduates received licences to preach, and not all licensed preachers were graduates.¹⁵ A university training also helped to foster the disciplined life expected of clergymen.¹⁶

At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, the proportion of graduate clergy tended to be low everywhere, but again, there were marked regional variations. In London, 47% of clergy were graduates, in Oxford 38%; but even in Surrey, it was only 22.6% (below Hampshire, 25%), with Essex 16.9% and Coventry and Lichfield 13.6%.¹⁷ Even in parts of the Home Counties, therefore, there was a notable shortage of graduate clergy in the 1560s. As the reign progressed, and under the first two Stuarts, the situation improved greatly. By 1601, 75% of London clergy had attended university.¹⁸ In Lincolnshire two years later, a third of the clergy were graduates - more than in Gloucester diocese or Chester, but less than in Norwich, or in other parts of Lincoln diocese.¹⁹ By 1630, 90% of incumbents in Lincolnshire and even 50% of curates had attended university, and many had proceeded beyond their first degree.²⁰ In 1610, some 41% of incumbents nationwide were graduates;²¹ even in Gloucester diocese, which had a generally poor record, nearly all ordinands by that date had attended university.²² The distinction in these statistics need to be noted between clergy who attended university, and those who graduated. Many young men began a university course, but did not complete it, often, though not always, for financial reasons.²³ The number of the latter among Welsh clergymen is difficult to calculate because of the lack of ordination papers, but it has been reckoned that only half the Welsh students at Oxford and Cambridge c.1558 - 1642 graduated.²⁴

The Welsh Parochial Clergy at the Accession of Elizabeth I

The object of this section is to take account of the situation in the parishes in Wales as it was on the morrow of the Elizabethan Settlement. Archbishop Parker required all his bishops to send in a report on their dioceses. Of the Welsh sees, the reports from

St Asaph, Bangor and Llandaff survive, and their information is readily accessible in Browne Willis's histories. No report is extant for St David's; either with the change of bishops, one was never made, or it has been lost. This is unfortunate, as St David's included about 40 per cent of the parishes in Wales. The reports from the other three dioceses make a good basis for a survey of at least some aspects of the Welsh clergy. Fortunately, it is possible to piece together some kind of picture of St David's from other sources, such as the surviving episcopal registers, and parish studies of Brecon and Pembrokeshire.

The most valuable information for the three dioceses of St Asaph, Bangor and Llandaff comes in regard to residence, non-residence, and vacancy of living. Information is available for 103 parishes in St Asaph, of which only six or seven were apparently vacant.²⁵ Eighty-six had a resident incumbent, or 84 per cent of the whole. Of these, twenty-three were returned as being both resident and hospitable, that is, providing for the needs of the poor - about 22 per cent. Only seven clergy are returned as non-resident (8%) though two others are uncertain. The figures are remarkably consistent across the diocese. In the prosperous deanery of Rhos, nineteen of the twenty parishes had a resident incumbent, the other was held in plurality. But the deaneries of Cydewain and Mawddwy in up-country Montgomeryshire and Merioneth had 100 per cent resident clergy. If anything, the 'home' deanery of Tegeingl, surrounding St Asaph cathedral, had the least satisfactory record: of its 14 parishes, two were vacant, one had a non-resident incumbent and one is uncertain. Bishop Thomas Goldwell (1556 - 59), a Catholic humanist in the best tradition and a disciple of Cardinal Pole, must be given most of the credit for leaving behind him a resident, caring clergy.

Details are available for eight^y/_A-six parishes in Bangor; six are known to have been vacant, four are uncertain. Fifty-one incumbents were resident, some 60 per cent; but of these, thirty-nine were also hospitable (48%), figures which reverse the pattern in St Asaph. Twenty-four were non-resident, or 28 per cent, a much higher figure than in St Asaph. There were, moreover, regional variations. Arwystli, the Bangor portion of Montgomeryshire, returned all six of its incumbents resident and five hospitable. Isaf (the Conwy Valley) had only two of its five incumbents resident, the others being pluralists. Uchor and Iscor²⁶ (North Caernarfonshire) had seven out of nine

incumbents resident. In the other deaneries, up to 50 per cent of clergy might be non-resident. Some of these were studying at university. The rest were mostly pluralists.

In Llandaff, there is information for one hundred and twenty parishes; eleven are known to have been vacant.²⁷ Seventy-four clergy are returned as resident, fifty-five of them hospitable; thirty-five were non-resident. These give figures of 61, 46 and 29 per cent, remarkably similar to Bangor considering how different the two dioceses were. As in Bangor, most deaneries had at least one incumbent at university, though the Llandaff deaneries were for the most part much bigger. Llandaff had more clergy who were not merely absent from their parishes, but non-resident in the diocese. Regional variations again were marked. Abergavenny deanery had twenty-two resident clergy out of the twenty-seven parishes, one of which was vacant. Adjoining it was Netherwent to the east, where only eleven clergy were resident in the twenty-five parishes, six of which were vacant, while Newport to the west had four clergy resident in the nine parishes, two of which were void.²⁸

For St David's there is no information about residence and non-residence. What does stand out is that in the two hundred and seventy-four parishes considered, there is no record of an incumbent in ninety-six. This figure may be exaggerated through records simply not existing, but St David's did have particular problems, and had been badly disrupted by the dissolution of the monasteries.²⁹ Again, the pattern varies. Pembrokeshire had one hundred and one parishes, fourteen of them possibly vacant; Cardiganshire had the same number of vacancies in only a third as many parishes (thirty-four). The rest of the diocese hovered around 50 per cent - twenty-five vacancies out of forty-eight in Carmarthenshire, nine out of eighteen in Gower, thirty-four out of seventy-one in Brecon and Radnor. An incumbent is known in only one of the seven parishes in Kidwelly deanery.³⁰

Geographical remoteness alone is no explanation. Carmarthen was then the largest town in Wales, and the centre of communications in the South-West. But neither that, nor the residence of the bishop nearby at Abergwili seem to have drawn clergy there. The Bishop of Llandaff resided at Mathern in Netherwent, with the worst record of residence in the diocese. Brecon, Bangor and St David's were in areas better served

Of the clergy incumbent in St Asaph diocese, twenty-five are known to have been graduates; another five may have been - percentages of about twenty-seven and thirty-three respectively. For Bangor, the figures would be slightly higher - 32 per cent certain, 35 per cent possible. For St David's, the figure was around 32 per cent, but for Llandaff only about 10 per cent. The low figure for Llandaff is perhaps less remarkable than the relatively high percentage for the other three dioceses. Bangor and St David's had a close connection with the universities, while at St Asaph, Bishop Goldwell's influence may again have played a part. Standards were to slip at St Asaph after his departure before improving later in the reign, while St David's dropped badly down the league table of graduates.

A much more difficult question to answer is to how many of these early Elizabethan clergy had studied at university without graduating. A large number of them have names identical with students at Oxford and Cambridge in this period, and whereas it is unlikely that they were all sometime students, it is also unlikely that none of them were. It is easier to hazard an identification with such names as John Barton (Erbistock), George Robinson (Derwen-yn-Iâl) or John Stradling (Neath) than with the numerous John Joneses and David Prices. Welsh names are not as frequently used as is sometimes supposed, and it is perhaps surprising to find only one student in the period with the name of Morgan Jones or Philip Williams, while others like Elizaunder Philips and David ap Phivion are quite unique. But there were seven incumbents in 1560 called Thomas Williams, but only five known students enrolled in the period with that name. The difficulty is compounded by surnames changing, ap Rice becoming Price, or simply Rees, and Llewellyn becoming Lunn, while Sevor is found as an alternative to Williams. There were sixteen of the St Asaph clergy who may thus have been university men, eleven in Bangor, nineteen in St David's but no fewer than thirty-seven in Llandaff. This balances the low number of graduates, and suggests that Bishop Kitchen, who had close links with Oxford University, may have encouraged men who had not completed their studies to come to his diocese as the next best thing to having graduate clergy.

Elizabeth's bishops, however, were interested in learning mainly in order to provide a supply of competent preachers.³¹ Here the figures must have been daunting. St Asaph returned only five able preachers, including the Dean and the Chancellor, one of

them a non-graduate;³² Llandaff returned only three, one again a non-graduate.³³ Bangor, however, returned twenty-seven.³⁴ It has been seen that Bangor and Llandaff, and to a lesser extent St Asaph, made an investment for the future by sending incumbents to university. But the bishops were in a 'catch 22' situation. The better qualified clergy were, the more they were likely to expect sinecures and pluralities, or go off to lusher pastures in England. They were in another equally difficult dilemma. Most clergy in Wales accepted the Reformation; many, apparently because they wished to marry. But many livings were too poor to support a wife and family as well as a parson, whereas 'in the days of celibacy', as one document puts it, some of them at least had received board and lodging at the big house.³⁵ Bishop Meyrick specifically mentions in the return for Bangor how the married clergy expected pluralities.³⁶

It has to be said that any study of the Welsh incumbents such as this makes the picture of the Church rosier than it really was. There were a number of parishes in Wales from the late Middle Ages which had ceased to function from poverty and neglect where perhaps even the church was derelict; others again which were chapelries served by some kind of curate, before the Dissolution in many cases served by the monks. On these, there is very little information, but they are the very places which Erasmus Saunders complained of being neglected two centuries later. The task facing the first Elizabethan bishops in Wales was formidable, not least making the Reformation work in such a country. If at the end of the reign things were a little better rather than a little worse, it was largely because each of the Welsh dioceses had the good fortune to have a long episcopate of a native, resident Welsh bishop. Richard Davies who became Bishop of St David's in 1561 was the outstanding one of all, and probably deserves to be regarded as the true architect of the Elizabethan Settlement in Wales.

Appendix

A study of the survey made for Archbishop Whitgift in the summer of 1603 reveals the improvement in the numbers of graduate clergy and preachers which had taken place in Queen Elizabeth's reign. The material is contained in Harley MS.280, the section on

the Welsh dioceses in ff.162v (Bangor), 163 (St Asaph), 163v (Llandaff) and 164 (St David's). The main conclusions are summarised as follows:-

St Asaph

36 graduates, 34 above the level of B.A.)	
5 non-graduates) 41 preachers	Total parishes 121

Bangor

31 graduates, 27 above the level of B.A.)	
6 non-graduates) 37 preachers	Total parishes 61

Llandaff

38 graduates, 31 above the level of B.A.)	
12 non-graduates) 50 preachers	Total parishes 177

St David's

69 graduates, 48 above the level of B.A.)	
15 non-graduates) 84 preachers	Total parishes 305

On these figures, about 60 per cent of the parishes in Bangor would have had a preacher, about 33.3 per cent in St Asaph and Llandaff, and about 27 per cent in St David's. But the figures for parishes fail to take account of those which were, in fact, chapelries, and those which (apparently) were inoperative. In the opinion of the present writer, the total for Bangor is too low, those for the other three dioceses too high. But even if the proportions move closer together, they confirm a league table of (1) Bangor, (2) St Asaph, (3) Llandaff and (4) St David's. This accords with the general picture I have formed. In the following pages, a more detailed picture of how progress was made from the situation in 1560/1 to that in 1603 and beyond will be unfolded.

If comparison is made with the three chief English dioceses which abutted onto Wales, Chester had a proportion of 59 per cent preachers to parishes, Gloucester 47.5 per

cent but Hereford only 25.8 per cent. Chester of course covered most of Lancashire where Puritan influence was strong. One point of interest is that fifty-four of Gloucester's preachers were non-graduates, but all Hereford's preachers were graduates, which suggests a different policy in the two dioceses. Carlisle, which can be compared in many ways with Wales, had a 38 per cent ratio of preachers to parishes, six of its thirty-six preachers non-graduates, figures comparable with those in St Asaph.

St Asaph 1560 - 1583

The purpose of this and the subsequent sections is to take account of the parochial clergy after 1560, particularly those who did not also hold cathedral or sinecure appointments. Each diocese will be examined deanery by deanery; although deaneries often reflect historical origins, they do roughly correspond to the geography of the country, and do make it possible to detect regional variations. A study has already been made of the parochial clergy at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, as revealed in the returns made to Archbishop Parker. The clergy will be considered in the four periods 1560 - 83, 1583 - 1603, 1603 - 28 and 1628 - 42, already used in studying the cathedral and sinecure clergy. Unfortunately, there is little information as to residence or hospitality kept by the clergy except in the reports for 1560 and 1563. The main information is for the frequency of changes of incumbent, the academic background of the clergy and, less frequently, whether or not they were university men, their age, and social background.

The diocese of St Asaph divides itself geographically into three areas. The deaneries of Tegeingl and Rhos make up the northern part of the counties of Flintshire and Denbighshire, facing north towards the coast, much of it good agricultural land. St Asaph and Denbigh, though only five miles apart were in different counties but nevertheless formed a natural centre to the region. It is arguable whether the deanery of Monte Alto (Mold) belongs rather to this region or to that made up of the two deaneries of Bromfield and Iâl and Marchia - very much border country, much of Marchia being in fact in Shropshire, and Bromfield having natural links with Cheshire and 'English Flint', which was in the diocese of Chester. The south part of the

diocese, comprising the deaneries of Pool and Caereinion, Cydewain, Cyfeiliog, Mawddwy, and Penllyn and Edeirnion, extended from Welshpool, very much a border town, to Machynlleth on the Dovey estuary, but most of it was geographically secluded and remote in its rural grandeur.

In the fourteen parishes of Tegeingl deanery, five incumbents in office in 1560 continued right throughout this period.³⁷ Sixteen clergy received appointments between 1560 and 1583. These included the dean, Hugh Evans, Vicar of Northop 1571 - 77, and Henry Mostyn, Vicar of Rhuddlan 1573 - 97, who later became sinecure Rector of Ysceifiog (1587); both of these have already been considered. Note should also be taken of Thomas Price, Rector of Llansanffraid-Glan-Conwy in 1560 and of Bodfari in 1561, who was also sinecure Rector of Aberdaron in the diocese of Bangor. John ap Robert, Rector of Llanymynech in 1560, became Vicar of Caerwys in 1570; he may later have become a cursal prebendary of the cathedral. Foulk ap Thomas was appointed to the two parishes of Gwaunysgor and Llanasa, which were adjacent, in 1575. Thomas Griffiths (Caerwys 1575) later added Llanferres (1586) and Henry Mostyn added Whitford to Rhuddlan the same year, pairs of parishes about five to seven miles apart. Hugh Evans and Henry Mostyn were both M.As. Those appointed in this period included otherwise five possible graduates (a total of 43.7%) and two possible university students (64% possible university men). Henry Mostyn and Hugh Holland (Northop 1582) both came from gentle Flintshire families who were to feature prominently among the clergy.

Rhos deanery had twenty parishes, but it may be noted that only one appointment is known at Llanellian before 1589 - Richard ap David, who is reported there in 1563; he may, of course, have continued there for nearly thirty years. In seven other parishes, the incumbent in office in 1560 continued throughout the period.³⁸ Twenty-seven clergy, including Richard ap David, were appointed in the remaining parishes. These included the bishop, William Hughes, who successively held Llysfaen and Abergele; the dean, Hugh Evans (Cerrig-y-Drudion); the Chancellor, George Smith (Llangernyw) and two other prebendaries, John Vaughan (Abergele and Llanfihangel-Glyn-Myfyr) and William Vaughan (Gwytherin). The latter became a doctor of divinity in 1597, the best qualified of these incumbents, apart, of course, from Bishop Hughes. Counting the latter, only eight of the group were graduates (30.7%) and eleven

possibly university men (42.3%). William Holland (Eglwysfach 1582) was probably another of the Flintshire Hollands, Robert ap Ralph Lloyd possibly of a clerical family; neither was a university man.

The two parishes of Monte Alto (Hope and Mold) each had two appointments 1560 - 83. One incumbent in each was a graduate. Eubule Thelwall (Mold 1576) came from the well-known Denbighshire family of that name, and was presented by his relative, Simon Thelwall, acting *pro hac vice*.³⁹ Thomas Young (Hope 1571) is not otherwise known, but may possibly have been related to Archbishop Young.

The eight parishes of Bromfield and Iâl included Gresford, one of the richest livings in Wales. Among its incumbents in this period were Bishop Hughes and Hugh Bellot, later Bishop of Bangor. Two cathedral prebendaries, respectively doctors of law and divinity, held livings - David Yale (Llandegla) and the famous antiquary David Powell (Ruabon). Altogether, seven of the fourteen men appointed were graduates and one was possibly a university student (total 57%). Two of those appointed were men of experience. Roger ap David, Vicar of Llangollen (Marchia deanery, from 1552) added adjacent Ruabon in 1572; Hugh Sontley (Marchwiel 1556) added Wrexham (1566); at the beginning of the reign, he was at Oxford, studying for his B.A. The incumbents included two sons of the gentry - Rowland Bulkeley (Anglesey-Erbistock) and Thomas Brereton (Salop-Gresford); to these should be added Hugh Bellot who came from the Cheshire gentry. This seems to have been the deanery best served at this time in the quality of its men.

Marchia had thirteen parishes, and in three the incumbent of 1560 carried on throughout this period.⁴⁰ Fifteen clergy were appointed in the other eleven parishes. It is perhaps surprising that none of those serving in this period was the holder of a cathedral or sinecure appointment. Seven of them were graduates, including Robert Salisbury (Ruabon), a D.C.L. and John Eaton, Kinnerley, 1581, a B.D. and three others university men - proportions of 46.6 per cent and 66 per cent respectively. These figures are almost exactly the same as those for Tegeingl, the 'home' deanery for St Asaph. John Pryce (Llangollen 1581) sprang from the gentry; David Morys (Llansilin 1561) was also headmaster of the nearby grammar school at Oswestry.

Pool and Caereinion deanery had seventeen parishes, in three of which the minister from 1560 carried on.⁴¹ In the remaining fourteen, thirty-two clergy received appointments including Bishop William Hughes at Castle Caereinion. Two others were cathedral clergy. Thomas Powell, the archdeacon, was at Hirnant 1566 - 89 - an M.A. and preacher; David Powell was incumbent first of Llanfyllin, then Meifod; he was a doctor of divinity. Three sinecure holders also held livings - Griffith Jones (Castle), Richard Price (Llandrinio) and Hugh Davies (Llangadfan, Llanergyl, and Welshpool); only Price was a graduate (B.C.L.) But by far the most distinguished of them was William Morgan (Welshpool, then Llanfyllin), later bishop. Altogether, twelve of those appointed were graduates (38.7%) and two others possible students (total 45%). None is known to have come from the ranks of the gentry.

Cydwain had nine parishes, and John ap Edward continued at Manafon, possibly for over forty years (1554 - 1597). The sixteen clergy appointed in the other eight parishes included John Holland (Llanwyddelan), later a cursal prebendary, and Griffith Jones junior (Aberhafesb 1574), sinecure Rector of Ysceifiog, respectively M.A. and LL.B. Only two others in the group were graduates and two others possible students - 25 per cent and 37.5 per cent respectively. John Holland came of the Flintshire gentry, Robert Myddleton, a Cambridge student, was probably one of the Myddletons of Chirk.

Four of the six parishes of Cyfeiliog deanery had their minister continuing throughout from 1560.⁴² This makes the sample too small to be very meaningful, particularly as Llanwrin had no fewer than four appointments, two of them sometime sinecure holders (Hugh Davies and William Lloyd), while John ap John, the incumbent in 1560 - 62, was re-appointed 1565 - 74; the circumstances are uncertain - he may have had doubts about the Elizabethan settlement which he ultimately resolved, or he may have served for three years as a chaplain or tutor. One incumbent was appointed at Darowen - David Morris (1562 - 91), a B.A. William Lloyd was an M.A., the only other known graduate in the group.

Llanymawddwy and Mallwyd, the two parishes making up Mawddwy deanery, both had two appointments in this period, but none of the four men in question is known to have had any university connection.

Penllyn and Edeirnion deanery had ten parishes. Lewis ap David, who had been Vicar of Corwen since 1529, before the breach with Rome, was still there in 1563. Griffith ap Llewelyn continued at Llangar between 1556 and 1586. Sixteen men were appointed in the other parishes. Bishop William Hughes held Llanycil at uncertain dates. There is some uncertainty regarding the vicarage of Llanfor. D.R. Thomas, probably on evidence from within the parish, gives Hugh Davies as vicar from 1561. The former vicar, Richard ap Griffith, is reported as still being there in 1563,⁴³ but it is at least possible that the diocesan authorities had failed to take due note of a change of incumbent - there had also been a change of bishop, and Llanfor was in one of the most distant parts of the diocese. Two of the cathedral clergy already considered held livings in this deanery - John Roberts (Corwen) and John Vaughan (Llandrillo). Robert Salesbury, Vicar of Corwen 1573 - 78, then moved to Ruabon. Hugo ap Robert, sinecure Rector of Llanfor (1556), became Vicar of Betws-Gwerful-Goch in 1566; he was not a university man; Roberts and Vaughan were (probably) students, Salesbury a B.C.L. There were three other graduates in the group (total five, including Bishop Hughes - 33.33%) and one other university man (total eight - 53.33%). The most distinguished among them was Meredith Hanmer (Llandderfel 1579 - 81), of the well-known Hanmer family of Flintshire and Salop, later Treasurer of Christ Church, Dublin; as he was also Rector of Hanmer, it must be wondered how much time he spent at Llandderfel, but it cannot be assumed that he was simply non-resident. He owed his appointment to Lord Chancellor Bromley, who usually appointed men of academic ability (Hanmer was a B.D.) but not necessarily connected with the area where they received a benefice.

It is clear that the academic qualifications of the men appointed in St Asaph in this period left something to be desired. Only in Monte Alto and Bromfield and Iâl did graduates account for 50 per cent of those appointed; in other parts, one-third was a more likely proportion; one surprise is to find Rhos deanery even below this (30%). It is possible that, at this stage, the proximity of English influence or the attraction of town life (Mold, Wrexham, Oswestry) had something to do with it. Two of the three incumbents in Welshpool and all five at Llanfyllin were graduates. It seems unlikely that graduates would have lost their fluency in Welsh at the universities - William Morgan certainly did not; but many of them may have found it easier to preach in

English before the Welsh Bible became current. Othersie, the towns, particularly on the border, may have offered the added attractions of doctors, schools and shops. But apart from the slow recruitment of university-trained men, there were more positive signs. The best is probably that, as in 1560, there seems to have been no difficulty in filling livings.⁴⁴ It will have been noted that most deaneries had a few long-serving incumbents (twenty-five or more years), and for the most part had just over one appointment per parish in this period. This suggests that it was standard practice for incumbents to serve twenty or so years, long enough really to become pastor of the flock. In Montgomeryshire, there was apparently more movement, but some of it was from parish to parish. The picture is distorted by the inclusion of prestigious parishes, which often had distinguished incumbents who did not remain long - Northop, Gresford and Llanwrin had four in this period, Llansanffraid-ym-Mechain and Llanfyllin five. There is a feeling that these were 'plums' to be offered to favoured candidates rather than responsibilities to be entrusted to careful pastors. But among the promising signs is the evidence that the gentry were already involving themselves in the life of the Church, and the names of Hanmer, Holland, Myddleton and Mostyn already appear among the parish clergy of the diocese.

1583 - 1603

In Tegeingl deanery, Thomas Griffiths, appointed in 1575, continued at Caerwys until 1606; appointments took place in all the other parishes in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, two at Gwaunysgor, Llanasa and Nannerch, four at Whitford and Ysceifiog, both 'prestigious' parishes. Twenty-one clergy altogether were appointed to parishes in the deanery in this period; six of them at some time held cathedral posts;⁴⁵ two others were among the sinecure clergy - Henry Mostyn, already noted, and Evan Morgan. The latter was Vicar of Llanasa 1602 - 15 and then became Rector of Caerwys, possibly as a 'retirement' post. As has already been seen, there are instances of an experienced incumbent being given an additional parish, possibly adjacent or close, possibly not. Eight of those appointed are not known to have held any other charge. Of those serving in the deanery in this period, only two - William Rawlins (Llanasa 1589 - 1602) and Thomas Birkinshaw (Ysceifiog 1595 - 1614) have names which do not appear in the university lists; the latter was probably a relative of Maurice Burchenshaw, prebendary of St Asaph's at the beginning of the reign. The

most distinguished of those appointed was John Williams (Tremeirchion 1585), doctor of divinity, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Oxford and Dean of Bangor.

In Rhos, the incumbent continued from the previous period at Abergele and Llangernyw. Appointments took place in all the other parishes, two in five of them. At Llanellian, appointments took place in 1589 (John Vaughan) and 1599 (Richard Edwards). Richards may have been a graduate of Cambridge, Edwards likewise of Oxford, and there are university students known of the name of John Vaughan; Archdeacon Thomas, nonetheless, noted no university connections among the members of this group. No incumbent, however, is known at Henllan between 1587 and 1609. This is surprising since the parish - 'the old church' - seems to have carried a certain amount of prestige. The dean, Hugh Evans, was vicar until his death in 1587, and it is possible that his successor, Thomas Banks, stepped into his shoes. Of the twenty-one clergy appointed in this period (apart from those at Llanellian already noted) ten are known to have been graduates, one other may have been; one other was an Oxford student and five others may have been university students - only four have no known university connection. Figures of 52.3 per cent possible graduates and 80 per cent university men mean a vast improvement on the situation in the first part of the reign. There is no apparent reason for this, apart from a general increase in those studying at the universities, including, possibly, men from the diocese. John Gwyn of Kegidog (Cegidog) in 1590 and some others possibly sprang from the local gentry, but David Meredith (Nantglyn 1590) was entered at Oxford as a poor scholar.⁴⁶ The appointments show a certain amount of movement among the clergy:- Owen Williams moved from Llansannan to Betws-yn-Rhos, William Evans from Nantglyn to Northop, David Kyffin from Whittington to Llansanffraid. Williams and Evans may have been attracted by better remuneration, but Whittington was, at least on paper, a much better paid living than Llansanffraid.⁴⁷ Five of those appointed at some time held cathedral posts, two others sinecures. Ten are not known to have held any other posts, parochial or otherwise.

The two parishes of Monte Alto represent a very small sample as only one appointment took place in each in this period. William Edwards (Hope 1598), later Rector of Nannerch, was possibly a university student. Edward Evans (Mold 1594) was

probably of the Shropshire gentry and a graduate of Jesus College, Oxford; he had previously (1590) been Curate of Nerquis within the parish of Mold.

Appointments took place in all the eight parishes in Bromfield and Iâl, twelve clergy being appointed altogether. These included Richard Parry (Gresford 1592), later bishop of the diocese; David Gwyn (Llanarmon 1588) and Robert Lloyd (Wrexham 1598) both of whom later became prebendaries of Meliden; and Peter Williams, prebendary of Meifod, who held Marchwiel (1599) and then Ruabon (1600). Henry Parry (Llandegla 1596) was also a prebendary of Bangor. Of those appointed, only Samuel Lloyd (Ruabon 1598 - 1600) is not known to have held any other appointment. It was seen that the clergy in this deanery had the best record of academic achievement in the diocese in 1560 - 83. In the latter part of the reign, all those appointed were possibly university men, ten of the twelve being graduates (85.33%). A similar maintenance and improvement have been noted at Monte Alto.

In Marchia deanery, no incumbent is known at Chirk between 1596 and 1611, and no appointment is known at Llanarmon-Dyffryn-Ceiriog between 1562 and 1616; whether either was vacant for a long time, and if so, why, must be a matter of speculation. Though against the pattern of the diocese, a possible 'gap' has already been noted at Henllan. At Kinnerley and Llanyblodwel, the incumbent carried on right throughout this period. Appointments took place in the other parishes, no fewer than five at Oswestry and St Martin's, four at Selattyn. There is no apparent reason for this rapid turnover, though in two instances it did involve some doubling up - William Horton combined Oswestry and Selattyn, John Bagshaw Oswestry and Whittington. Richard Pigott had been Rector of Llandegla (1598) before moving to Oswestry (1602) with a possible overlap between 1602 and 1606. Six of the clergy appointed in this period were graduates, eight possibly university students, and only five had no known university connections. Robert Roberts (Knockin 1599) was also sinecure Rector of Lampeter Velfrey in the diocese of St David's. Thomas Torperley (Selattyn 1588) had previously been Rector of Didcot, Berks., and his successor Rowland Thasker of Pitchford, Salop. John Bagshaw (*supra*) was a prebendary of Lichfield - persons who underline the English character of part of this deanery. Thomas Gregor(y) who combined Llanymynech with Llanymawddwy, originated in Dorset.⁴⁸

In Pool and Caereinion deanery, Thomas Jones continued at Llangynyw from 1574 to 1616 and was also Rector of Castle 1592 - 1606. Appointments took place in all the other parishes, four at Llanfair and three at Llanfyllin, thus continuing trends noted in the deanery in the earlier part of the reign. John Pierce or Piers, Vicar of Llanfair from about 1583, combined it with Llangynog in 1592. Four of those who held livings at this period also held cathedral appointments, three of them cursal prebends; three others held sinecures. Thomas Powell (Hirnant), John Williams (Llandrinio), Peter Williams (Llanerfyl) and Griffith Jenkins (*ibid.*) all at some time held livings in other deaneries. Of the twenty-four clergy holding parishes in the deanery at this period, only six had no known university connection, and fifteen of the incumbents were university men (62.5%), a notable improvement on the earlier part of the reign.

In Cydewain, the incumbent continued throughout at Aberhafesb, Betws and Llanmerewig. Appointments took place in all the other parishes, two in four of them. William Evans, Vicar of Llanllwchaearn 1589 - 90, then moved to Northop; Peter Williams again appears as Rector of Manafon 1597 - 99. Of the thirteen incumbents in this period, six were graduates (46%) and another three possibly university students.

Cyfeiliog again offers a small and untypical sample. No appointment is known at Llanbrynmair between 1560 and 1608, or Machynlleth between 1560 and 1606. It is not impossible that the incumbents continued there throughout Elizabeth's reign. But both parishes had sinecure rectories, and it is possible that they were served by their rectors, or by curates. William Griffin, an M.A., was Rector of Cemais 1588 - 1614, to which he added the adjacent parish of Darowen in 1591; he became a cursal canon in 1598. Peter Humphreys (Llanwrin 1600) was also an M.A. Matthew Evans (Penegoes 1588) had no known university connection.

In the two parishes of Mawddwy, Thomas Gregory (Llanymawddwy) has already been noted. John Lloyd ap David (Mallwyd 1588 - 1604) may have been John Lloyd, an Oxford student; he is not otherwise known.

In Penllyn and Edeirnion, Humphrey Ednyvet was at Corwen 1581 - 1624, Edmund Owen at Llanfor possibly 1569 - 1619. No appointment is known at Llanuwchllyn after Hugh ap Robert in 1560. Appointments took place in all the other parishes, four at Llandrillo. Of the men serving in the deanery, only three were possibly not

university men - Peter Roberts (Gwyddelwern 1594), Edmund Owen (supra) and John Parry (Llandrillo 1583 - 94). Ellis Morys (Llanycil) was a prebendary, and three other of the incumbents were also sinecurists. Peter Brereton (Llandrillo 1598) had previously been Rector of Llanyblodwel, Thomas ap Rhys (Llangar 1592) likewise of Newtown. As many as nine of the incumbents were graduates, and three possibly Oxford students.

1603 - 1628

At the beginning of the Stuart era, two parishes in Tegeingl had long-serving incumbents - Gwaunysgor, where Owen Jones was rector from 1595 until his death in 1646, and Northop, where William Evans was vicar from 1590 to 1639 - in contrast to the frequent changes there under Elizabeth. Two general features seem to stand out, which are reflected to a greater or lesser extent elsewhere in the diocese. One is the degree of involvement of the higher clergy in the parishes, and the other is the mobility of the clergy. The parochial clergy seem to divide into two types: those like the two mentioned above who remained in the same living for perhaps the whole of their ministry, and those who moved on from parish to parish (or making combinations of parishes), sometimes, though rarely, remaining in a parish for only a few months. Bishop Richard Parry was Vicar of Rhuddlan 1605 - 18, thus following the example of Bishop Hughes, except that since Rhuddlan was virtually next door to St Asaph, it is to be hoped that he occasionally went there to preach and take services. Seven of the cathedral clergy apart from the bishop also held livings in the deanery at this period⁴⁹ and two of the sinecure clergy - the ubiquitous John Williams, and John Meredith, who combined the cure of Whitford with the adjacent sinecure of Caerwys. His successor at Whitford, Lewis Lloyd, was the only incumbent here also to have served as a vicar choral - possibly at the same time, a distance of about seven miles separating the parish from the cathedral. John Williams had charge of the adjacent parishes of Cwm and Rhuddlan in 1625, but progression was more common than plurality. David Ellis, for instance, was Vicar of Caerwys 1606 - 08, then Cwm 1608 - 24 - Cwm was nominally less well remunerated, but was slightly nearer the cathedral. Richard Jones was Rector of Aberhafesb in Montgomeryshire, then moved to Bodfari, combining it in 1623 with adjacent Tremeirchion. Simon Mostyn was Vicar of Ysceifiog, then Rhuddlan, and finally Cwm; he is a rare instance of a son of the gentry among this

group, though probably others would have been reckoned as minor gentry. It is certainly significant that all the men appointed in the deanery at this time were university men.

The great majority of those serving in the deanery at this time were graduates. The situation was not very different in the adjacent deanery of Rhos. Owen Vaughan had a long ministry at Gwytherin from 1602 until the Civil War; appointments took place in all the other twenty parishes. Among the incumbents was David Dolben at Llangernyw (1621 to his death in 1633), remaining incumbent when he became Bishop of Bangor in 1632. Nine of those who held cathedral appointments were incumbents, four vicars choral and four sinecurists, including John Williams (Llanddulas 1616 - 20). At least eleven of those serving at this period had at least one move of parish. Gabriel Parry, nephew of the bishop, had three parishes within the deanery (Henllan 1609, Llysfaen 1613, and Abergele 1614) as well as others elsewhere. But Edward Thomas was ten years at Llanddoget followed by twenty at Eglwysfach. Six of the incumbents in this period had no known university background. Two of them were sons of the gentry - Foulk Holland (Cegidog) and Simon Thelwall (Nantglyn); the Church was, perhaps, already beginning to appear as an attractive career for younger sons of the squire. Little really is known about the other four, Evan Davies (Cerrig-y-Drudion), Roger Hampton (Llanddoget), Jasper Hughes (Llanddulas, then Diserth), and Hugh Owen (Llanfihangel-Glyn-Myfyr).

In Monte Alto deanery, John Jones, previously Rector of Llanddulas, became Vicar of Hope in 1616. Evan Morgan, Vicar of Mold in 1612, later became prebendary of Meifod and Rector of Denbigh. His successor, William Edwards, was sometime a vicar choral. All three were graduates.

In Bromfield and Iâl deanery, the longest serving incumbent was Robert Lloyd, Vicar of Wrexham 1598 - 1640. Appointments took place in all other parishes. Nine of those appointed were also cathedral clergy, among them Andrew Morrice (Erbistock 1606 - 14) who later became dean; also one vicar choral and one sinecurist. Richard Lloyd held the important parish of Gresford 1613 - 14, but then moved to take the adjoining parishes of Marchwiell and Ruabon. Combinations of more distant parishes were made by Thomas Price (Erbistock with first Aberhafeb, then Cemais) and his

successor Humphrey Lloyd (Erbistock with Betws Cydewain). Among those appointed, Humphrey Roberts (Llandegla 1609 - 45) was the only one with no university connections; Thomas Price (*supra*) was an Oxford student; all the rest were graduates.

To the south in Marchia, Peter Brereton's fifty-year incumbency at Llanyblodwel (1579 - 1629) has already been noted. Five of the cathedral clergy were among the incumbents, one vicar choral and four sinecurists. What is perhaps remarkable is that seven of the incumbents at one time held livings in other deaneries. Among them, Simon Lloyd (Llansilin 1615 - 17) moved on to Newtown, then Betws-Cydewain before ending up as Treasurer of Bangor in 1670. Richard Jervis (Llansilin 1627) moved after five years to Llangybi in Llŷn (Bangor). Richard Markleston, who combined Llansilin and Oswestry in 1612, and Richard Evans (Whittington, 1604) were not university men. Two others among the incumbents appointed were university students and another may have been. The rest were all graduates. A shadow was no doubt cast in 1612 when Nathaniel Tattersall, Vicar of Oswestry 1603 - 13, was degraded and deprived.⁵⁰ His offence is not known, but even the mighty can fall: he was an M.A., and appointed by Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, who was scrupulous in his choice of clergy.

Three of the incumbents in Pool and Caereinion had long terms of service beginning before the end of Elizabeth's reign - John Holland (Guilsfield 1586 - 1639), Thomas Powell (Hirnant 1589 - 1632) and Griffith Jones (Llanerfyl 1598 - 1637), though with his other appointments, it is questionable how much time John Holland spent in Guilsfield. By contrast, Bishop John Hanmer was Rector of Llanfyllin for about three months in 1627, and John Vaughan at Garthbeibio for less than a year in 1628. Apart from the bishop, five of the cathedral clergy held livings, and two sinecurists. At least eight of the incumbents moved parishes, one of the more unusual being Jenkin Vaughan (Cemaes and Meifod 1626) who moved from St David's. Humphrey Penrhyn combined Welshpool with Hordley in the diocese of Lichfield.⁵¹ Vaughan and Penrhyn paired parishes which were a manageable distance apart. Six of those appointed in this period had no known university background; one was possibly a student; the rest were all graduates.

Cydewain at this time seems to have had a less stable clergy with no 'long timers' from the previous period surviving throughout; Griffith Griffiths, however, appointed to Llanwyddelan in 1617, remained there thirty-three years until he was ejected by the Puritans. By contrast, three changes of incumbent took place at Aberhafesb, Berriew and Llanmerewig, four at Llandysul and Newtown. The reasons for this rapid turnover are not apparent. Virtually all of those appointed had served, or went on to serve, elsewhere. Since virtually the whole patronage in the diocese was in the bishop's gift, it may represent a policy (likewise in Tegeingl and Rhos) of not leaving men too long in a parish unless they particularly wished to stay there; or a willingness on the part of the bishop to move men when they felt a need to move.⁵² Five of the cathedral clergy took livings in this deanery, one vicar choral, and three sinecurists. What is perhaps more remarkable is that all those appointed, possibly, had a university background, all but five of them graduates. Among them was Arthur Williams, who took Llanllwchaearn in 1621, virtually at the end of a long career, having held many posts in both St Asaph and Bangor.

In Cyfeiliog, Matthew Evans (Penegoes 1588 - 1632) alone survived from the previous period right throughout; the only non-university man among the incumbents. Four appointments took place at Cemais, four at Machynlleth, reflecting the situation in Cydewain. By contrast, John Davies, the great Welsh scholar, took over Darowen in 1614, combining it with the two parishes in Mawddwy deanery, Mallwyd, which he had held since 1603, and Llanymawddwy (1614). Darowen lies some six miles from Mallwyd, and doubtless all three parishes got the benefit of some Welsh preaching. Cadwaladr Owen had both the sinecure rectory and vicarage of Llanbrynmair, not the only one to make such a combination in this period, though it was rare.

The clergy in Penllyn and Edeirnion seem to have been more settled. There were three 'long-timers' - Peter Roberts (Gwyddelwern 1594 - 1632), William Kenrick (Llandderfel 1593 - 1640) and John Ellis (Llansanffraid-Glyn-Dyfrdwy 1587 - 1642). Llandrillo had three changes of vicar, spaced at intervals of seven and fourteen years, Llanfor two, at six years apart; at Llanuwchllyn, Richard Lloyd, B.D. was appointed in 1603, Maurice Vaughan M.A. in 1611, and John Burley in 1615; all the other parishes had only one appointment. Peter Roberts had no known university background; nor did John Head, though since he was recommended for Llandrillo to Lord Chancellor

Ellesmere by Bishop Morgan⁵³, he must have had things in his favour. John Burley (Llanuwchllyn 1615) is not otherwise known. John Ellis (Llansanffraid-Glyn-Dyfrdwy) was an Oxford student, and three others may have been students; the rest were all graduates. Richard Lloyd (Llandrillo 1625) was the only prebendary among them; William Kenrick (*supra*) was sinecure Rector of Llandrillo, John Pierce (Llanycil 1615) sometime a vicar choral. Richard Humphreys combined Corwen and Llangower, about twelve miles apart. Theodore Roberts served fourteen years at Llandrillo (1611 - 25) then moved to Llanfor, almost next-door; both were large parishes. Possibly Roberts felt he had fulfilled his ministry at Llandrillo and was seeking a new sphere in which to operate.

Across the diocese, a movement was taking place in this period towards a university-trained and predominantly graduate clergy, thus continuing the trend begun in Archbishop Whitgift's time. It was less marked in the rural south of the diocese, but even here the number of university men was impressive. What is particularly noteworthy is that a great scholar like John Davies should have served some forty years in one of the remotest parts of the diocese. If some of the cathedral clergy ever spent much time in their remote country livings (and it is difficult to believe that none of them did), the Reformation ideals were really penetrating deep into the fabric of the diocese. There was no clear-cut distinction between 'higher' and 'parochial' clergy; the former were expected to become involved in the parishes, even the remote country ones, either as a qualification or a consequence of obtaining a prebend or a sinecure. But clearly there was a place in the ministry for men with other than academic gifts, and even the limited evidence available shows that this was recognised by Bishop Morgan and Lord Ellesmere, who placed a high value on learning, but not an all-exclusive one.⁵⁴

1628 - 1642

The purpose of this last section is to examine whether any changes are noticeable in the parochial clergy appointed under William Laud's supremacy as Bishop of London and Archbishop of Canterbury, a period which in St Asaph conveniently coincides almost exactly with Bishop John Owen's time at bishop. As the shortest of the periods examined, there are fewer data, particularly as compared with the earlier Stuart period;

there are a number of clergy appointed before 1628 who continued until the Civil War and Interregnum, even sometimes to the Restoration. But the picture which emerges is as follows.

In Tegeingl, three clergy carried on throughout from the previous period - Owen Jones at Gwaunysgor, the survivor from Elizabeth's reign noted before; Henry Morgan at Cilcain, and Richard Evans at Halkyn, both appointed in 1627; the latter remaining until 1666.⁵⁵ Appointments took place in all the other parishes. Bishop Owen followed his predecessor's example in taking Rhuddlan for a year (1633 - 34); five other of the cathedral clergy took livings, John Griffith taking two for a year (1633 - 34) - Bodfari and Cwm, two parishes close to each other but separated by Tremeirchion. Three Vicars Choral and two sinecurists also took livings, so that the higher clergy were heavily involved in the parishes of this deanery - appropriately, perhaps, as St Asaph was at its centre. That four appointments should have taken place at Bodfari and four at Ysceifiog in fourteen years is surprising. John Griffith's incumbency of one year has been noted. It is not clear what happened in 1640 when both Thomas and Hugh Lloyd are entered in the *Liber Institutorum* as incumbent. The latter was Rector of Hirnant and sinecure Rector of Denbigh, in 1644 Archdeacon of St David's and in 1660 Bishop of Llandaff. Thomas Lloyd is also entered for 1643; possibly he withdrew in 1640 and was appointed three years later when Hugh Lloyd moved on.⁵⁶ At Ysceifiog, Jeremiah Davies was vicar for only a year (1638); he is not known elsewhere. Richard Griffith, appointed in 1639, moved on to Mold in 1641. William Mostyn, another of that distinguished family, appointed to Whitford in 1639, was the only non-university man serving in the deanery; three others, including Owen Jones, were possibly students, the rest all graduates.

In Rhos deanery, eleven parishes had the incumbent continuing from 1603 - 28, over half those in the deanery. These included Gwytherin, where Owen Vaughan had been appointed in 1602, and Henllan (Gabriel Parry 1609), but eight clergy appointed between 1623 and 1628 formed the bulk of this group. Apart from Gabriel Parry, John Holland (Cegidog 1617) was the only other of the cathedral clergy serving and no new ones were appointed, nor, in this period, any vicars choral, though there were four sinecurists among the incumbents. None of the clergy appointed in this period were without a possible university background, and only Roger Hampton (Llanddoget 1628)

and Jasper Hughes (Llansanffraid 1627) among those still serving; a considerable change from the early years of Elizabeth. No appointment is known at Llangernyw after the death of Bishop Dolben in 1633 - one of those rare *lacunae* among the parishes of St Asaph.

Appointments took place at both Hope and Mold in 1641. John Ellis at the former continued until the Restoration. Rice (or Richard) Griffith came to Mold after serving at Nantglyn, then Ysceifiog. Both were graduates.

In Bromfield and Iâl, the incumbent carried on throughout at four parishes (50%) though Richard Lloyd, who carried on at Ruabon, gave up Marchwiel in 1642. Samuel Lloyd, appointed to Gresford in 1635, remained there until his death in 1673; he had previously been incumbent of Steventon, Berkshire, (1630) and Penegoes (1632). All those appointed in this period were graduates, and Humphrey Roberts (Llandegla 1609) the only non-university man continuing to serve.

Six of the thirteen parishes in Marchia had no new appointment in this period. Among those who were appointed, two worthy of note were George Griffiths (Llanymynech 1634, previously Newton 1631), the future bishop, and John Meredith (Llanarmon-Dyffryn-Ceiriog 1642), Fellow of Eton and Provost (1661); both were D.Ds. Thomas Wright, appointed to Kinnerley in 1633 by Lord Keeper Coventry,⁵⁷ was the only non-university man appointed; two others were students, one of Oxford and one Cambridge; the rest were graduates.

Appointments took place in all the parishes in Pool and Caereinion except Llangynyw, where William Lloyd was rector 1617 - 45. Bishop Owen was Rector of Llanfechain for a year or two (1632 - 33); three of the cathedral clergy, one vicar choral, and six sinecurists held livings, and Edward Ellis (Guilsfield 1639) became a prebendary in 1660. John Davies (Garthbeibio 1635) was possibly a student of that name; all other appointees in this period were graduates.

Four of the parishes in Cydewain had the incumbent continuing throughout, and Griffith Griffiths at Llanwyddelan has been noted in the previous section. Henry Parry (Manafon 1631 - 35, previously Llysfaen) was the only non-university man appointed in this period; he was replaced by John Kyffin, a B.D. Apart from two students

(Edward Jones, Llanmerewig, 1635, and Godfrey Davies, Betws, 1636) all others appointed were graduates.

Three of the parishes in Cyfeiliog had the incumbent continuing (50%). Four clergy were appointed in the other three parishes (two at Penegoes, including Samuel Lloyd, *supra*). David Davies (Darowen 1635) was a sinecurist; Matthew Evans junior (Penegoes 1635) was an Oxford student, but all those appointed had a university background.

John Davies continued to hold the two parishes in Mawddwy throughout this period. In Penllyn and Edeirnion, the incumbent continued in five of the eleven parishes. The clergy appointed in this period included Archibald Sparks (Corwen 1638) while the dean, Andrew Morrice, held both Llanycil (1640 - 41) and Corwen (1641).

Corwen was clearly a prestigious parish; the other appointee in this period was Edward Powell (1639 - 41), a sinecurist. John Foulkes (Gwyddelwern 1641) was probably the Oxford student of that name; all others appointed were graduates. They included Andrew Thelwall (Llandderfel 1641) another of that distinguished family.

No dramatic changes took place in St Asaph in the last twelve years of this period. The trends noted earlier continue and are consolidated - a steady movement in the direction of a university-trained, preferably graduate clergy, with the higher clergy - those who already had, or were about to, obtain a cathedral or university post - much involved in the parishes. Probably the most remarkable evidence of these trends is in the rural south, the 'wilds' of Montgomeryshire and Merioneth. As has been seen, there was never a shortage of clergy here. In the Stuart period, credit goes to the number of well-qualified, even distinguished, clergy who took parishes in this area, some of whom, like John Davies at Mallwyd, were prepared to give a life-time of service to the simple inhabitants of these parts.

Bangor Parochial Clergy 1560 - 1642

1560 - 83

In Llŷn deanery, there were two long incumbencies beginning early in Elizabeth's reign. Ellis Price was at Llaniestyn between 1560 and 1590; John Prichard held Edern

from 1560 to 1579. Prichard was succeeded as Rector of Edern by John Bold, who, the previous year (1578) had become Archdeacon of Northumberland.⁵⁸

Whether or not he discharged his duties in the parish personally must be a matter of speculation, but archdeacons were not always expected at this time to reside in their charge or even in their diocese.⁵⁹ No other appointment is known at Edern until 1595. The date of Thomas Griffith's appointment to Rhiw is unknown - only that he retired in 1600. One appointment took place in Bodfean in this period and two in the remaining four parishes. The incumbents in this period included Bishop Meyrick, who held Llanbedrog *in commendam* 1562 - 71, and Henry Rowland at Mellteyrn 1572 - 82, who later became dean and then bishop. Humphrey Robinson, Archdeacon of Merioneth from 1574, combined the role with the incumbencies of Llanbedrog (1571 - 84) and Llanengan (1573 - 85). Owen Davies, who succeeded Henry Rowland at Mellteyrn in 1582, was also a Comportioner of Llandinam. Altogether, eight of those serving in this period were graduates; Thomas Griffiths was possibly a university student; four had no known university connections, including Ellis Price, who, as already stated, continued from 1560.

In all the nine parishes of Uchor and Iscor, fresh appointments took place in this period. Two took place at Llanbeblig and three at Llanrug. It is not possible to comment on the frequency of change of incumbent as it is not known when William Davies was appointed at the former or William Sharpe at the latter, only when they resigned. John Hyde (Llanbeblig 1574) had been Rector of Llangybi in 1560; he continued until his death in 1613, which means a ministry of over fifty years. Robert Morgan, Vicar of Clynnog Fawr, later became a prebendary of Bangor. What is remarkable among the incumbents in this period is the number of students, possibly non-graduates - seven out of thirteen. It might be argued that the disruption of studies at the universities during the religious changes was responsible for this,⁶⁰ but it does not seem to have been reflected in other deaneries.

Appointments likewise took place in all four parishes in Uchaf, and three at Llanllechid. This seems to have been a prestigious parish which attracted distinguished incumbents, who then moved on to higher things. Hugh Burches, later a prebendary of Bangor, was there for only about a year (1577 - 78). But his

predecessor, John Meyrick, was there for fourteen years (1563 - 77) before becoming Bishop of Sodor and Man, and his successor, Arthur Williams, who moved round a variety of appointments in Bangor and St Asaph and ended as Precentor of Bangor, was there for twenty-two years (1578 - 1600); proximity to his home parts at Cochwillan was probably an attraction.⁶¹

In Isaf, Thomas Williams held the adjacent parishes of Caerhun and Llanbedr-y-Cennin 1574 - 84. Two of the Brickdale family, Richard and John, held Conwy 1566 - 73 and 1573 - 1607 - a clerical family with no known university connections. John also held Llangelynnin from 1568, and probably looked after the chapelry of Gyffin which lay between it and Conwy.

Although Eifionydd deanery was in the archdeaconry of Merioneth, it is meaningful to consider its four parishes, in each of which an appointment took place in this period, along with the rest of Caernarfonshire. There is, however, an uncertainty as to who was appointed to Llangybi in 1581. What seems most likely is that there was some uncertainty as to the right of appointment; that Lord Chancellor Bromley nominated Richard Vaughan, later bishop,⁶² but that he withdrew in favour of John Owen, who remained there until his death in 1614 - less distinguished than his rival, but a student of Hart Hall, Oxford, and a preacher.⁶³ Of those appointed in this deanery, only David ap Thomas (Llanystumdwy 1575 - 94) had no known university connection.

Considering forty-one incumbents in Caernarfonshire in this period, sixteen were graduates (39%) - not a high proportion, and brought down by a low number in the two deaneries of Uchor and Iscor and (Arllechwedd) Isaf. The number is made much more respectable by the inclusion of thirteen possible students, making a total of 68 per cent, with just under a third of the incumbents with no known university background.

A very similar picture emerges in Dyffryn Clwyd and Cinmeirch, the detached part of the diocese in Denbighshire. In the thirteen parishes there were three incumbents remaining throughout from 1560 - George Robinson at Derwen-yn-Iâl (1560 - 85), John Edwards at Efenechtyd (1560 - 87) and James Ellis at Llanfwrog (1560 - 96). These three incumbencies, each of over a quarter of a century, are balanced by no fewer than four appointments in this period at Llanychan and five at Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd. The five Vicars of Llanfair served for respectively, one, seven, two, four and

nine years, and it is not easy to see why they remained for so short a time. Llanfair seems to have carried prestige, but none of the five incumbents was particularly distinguished - Thomas Benet (1571 - 73), was the only graduate among them, also beneficed in Cheshire, and sinecure Rector of Llanrhaeadr-yng-Nghinmeirch. Arthur Hughes had previously been Vicar of Towyn and was possibly ageing; David Jones alias Gwyn moved on to Llanychan.⁶⁴ All four of the incumbents at the latter were either graduates or students. Here, short incumbencies of two, six, and eleven years were followed by one of forty-seven; David Gwyn must have been nearly eighty at least when he died in 1628. Robert Salusbury, rector 1563 - 69, moved to St Asaph, his home diocese, but at Ruabon and Corwen, further away from his family home near Denbigh. Since some of the parishes in the deanery were prestigious and well remunerated, it is not surprising to find three of the cathedral clergy, including the dean, Roland Thomas, and three of the sinecurists, among the incumbents. Twenty-five incumbents in the deanery in this period divide into fourteen graduates (56%), four students (bringing the total university men to 72%), and seven non-university men (28%) - a higher proportion of both graduates and university students than in Caernarfonshire taken as a whole.

In Arwystli, the Montgomeryshire part of the diocese, there were in effect only five parishes, as Rice ap Ieuan (1562 - 67) and Robert ap Ritherch (1567 - 1607) held jointly the adjacent parishes of Llandinam and Penstrowed. John Gwyn (Llangurig 1561) also acquired the adjacent parish of Llanidloes in 1564. John ap Owen continued at Trefeglwys 1560 - 95; Griffith ap Howell, at Llanwnnog in 1560, continued to an uncertain date. David Lewis was the only known graduate in the deanery in this period, at Llangurig from 1582 possibly to 1621; his predecessor, John Gwyn, was a Cambridge student.

Ardudwy, the Merionethshire part of Bangor diocese, seems to have been more attractive to the learned and the distinguished. The twelve incumbents noted there in this period included five who held cathedral posts at some time, the most distinguished among them Edmwnd Prys, Archdeacon of Merioneth, who was Rector of Ffestiniog and Maentwrog for over fifty years 1572 - 1623. In addition, Humphrey Birkdale, sometime vicar choral, was Rector of Llanenddwyn 1572 - 80. He was succeeded by Archdeacon Edmwnd Prys; Llanenddwyn lay some sixteen miles by road from his

other parish church Ffestiniog
 / - a manageable distance, but in any case, Prys had the
 assistance of a curate.⁶⁵ Seven of these twelve incumbents were graduates (58%), one
 a university student (total 67%). As in Caernarfonshire and Dyffryn Clwyd, about a
 third of the incumbents had no known university background.

The three deaneries of Anglesey contained a number of parishes which seemed to carry
 prestige, or were well paid (relatively) or both. In the seven parishes which made up
 Dynnedd and Twrcelyn (roughly the north-east of the island), six of the cathedral
 clergy held livings in this period. Roland Thomas was only a year in Llandyfrydog
 (1569 - 70) before becoming dean. By contrast, David Moythey was at
 Llanfairpwllgwyngyll throughout this period, dying in 1583. He had no known
 university training, nor did Rowland Bulkeley (Llandegfan 1573 - 94), one of several
 of the Bulkeley family of Baron Hill to be incumbents under Elizabeth I. Three others
 are not known as university men, contrasting with six who were graduates.

In Llifon and Talybolion, there is uncertainty about when William Griffith was
 appointed to Llanfaethlu - probably during this period; he died in 1587. Hugh
 Morgan, Provost of Clynnog Fawr, was Rector of Llanrhuddlad in 1570 - 74 when he
 was succeeded by John Price, who was also precentor of the cathedral. The latter was
 probably identical with John Prise (sic), Rector of Llantrisant (1578). Both parishes
 attracted some distinguished rectors; they were separated by Llanddeusant. In Menai
 and Malltraeth, Robert ap Hugh continued at Newborough from 1560 until his death in
 1596. The incumbents at Trefdraeth were Hugh Morgan (1561 - 64), Provost of
 Clynnog Fawr and David Lloyd ap Meredith (1564 - 93) probably identical with David
 Lloyd, prebendary. The other incumbents included the archdeacon, Owen Owens, at
 Llangeinwen. No incumbent is known at this time at Llanddwyn, though two possible
 appointments are known there in the early Stuart period. Llanddwyn was a parish
 which had largely fallen into the sea, and its church is now a picturesque ruin, but some
 tithe probably came from its remaining land so that it may have been a kind of sinecure.
 Despite the distinction of many of its clergy, only 50 per cent in this period were
 graduates, though this was the highest percentage in the diocese at the time, 62.5 per
 cent university men, 37.5 per cent coming from no known university background.
 The frequency with which clergy held livings both on the island and the mainland

suggests that the Menai Straits were more of a highway than an obstacle, and indeed, a number of ferries operated to provide a convenient means of transport.⁶⁶

1583 - 1603

In the second part of Elizabeth's reign, two incumbents carried on in Llŷn deanery throughout, Humphrey Roberts at Bodfean (Boduan) (1581 - 1606) and Owen Davies at Mellteyrn (1582 - 1618). Richard Conwey, appointed to Aberech in 1582, is the last known incumbent of that parish until 1674; he may be presumed to have continued into the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, and if only a young man when appointed, may well have continued long into that of James I - possibly to 1620; but no date is known for his termination. The parish was worth £6 according to the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* - no vast sum, but more than some parishes which did attract incumbents. Owen Meredith at Llaniestyn (1590) and Arthur Williams at Llanengan (1600) were successive precentors of the cathedral, the latter moving at the turn of the century from Llanllechid.

In Uchor and Iscor, no new appointment took place in this period at Clynnog Fawr, Llanaelhaearn, Llanfairisgaer or Llanllyfni. It is not known when Hugh Evans (appointed 1566) ceased at the latter, but incumbencies of thirty-nine, thirty-seven, and fifty-six years at the other three constituted a remarkable element of continuity. Hugh Lewis, appointed to Llanddeiniolen in 1599, lasted thirty-five years; he was also chancellor of the cathedral. Edmund Griffith, later dean and then bishop, seems to have retained the rectory of Llandwrog for forty-one years (1596 - 1637). By contrast, there were incumbencies of six and four years at Llanberis, though followed by one of twenty. John Martin (1593 - 99) moved on to the cathedral parish; Robert Parry (1599 - 1603) then went to Llanfairpwllgwyngyll. Llanberis was a poor parish, worth only £4. 18s. 9d. in the King's Book, and the desire for better remuneration elsewhere is understandable.

In (Arllechwedd) Uchaf, no new appointment took place at Dwygyfylchi or Llanfairfechan. The most distinguished incumbent in this period was Henry Mostyn, a prebendary of the cathedral, Rector of Aber (1592 - 1600), then of Llanllechid (1600 - 16); he was also beneficed in St Asaph.⁶⁷ As in the earlier part of the reign, Uchaf did better at attracting graduates (three out of four) than neighbouring Isaf, to the east.

Here, John Birkdale has been noted in the previous section, and another member of the family, Nicholas, took over Caerhun and Llanbedr-y-Cennin (1584 - 1614). Only Trefrhiw attracted the university men. Humphrey Morgan, possibly a Cambridge student, possibly an Oxford M.A. lasted only a year (1591 - 92); David Owen lasted twenty-five (1592 - 1617), a Cambridge graduate who became a D.D. after leaving the parish. He was a native of Anglesey, and was presented by Sir John Wynn, whose mansion of Gwydir lay in the parish.⁶⁸

The four men appointed in Eifionydd in this period divide into two university and two non-university men. Taken as a whole, seventeen of the incumbents serving in Caernarfonshire in this period were graduates. This is 50 per cent of the total, a marked improvement reaching the standard only attained in Anglesey in 1560 - 83. The total figure for university men, however (67.6%) is actually slightly lower than for the earlier period, suggesting that more men were completing their studies rather than more ordinands going up to university.⁶⁹

Three incumbents in Dyffryn Clwyd continued throughout this period - Theodore Rice at Llanrhaeadr-yng-Nghinmeirch (1581 - 1603), David Gwyn at Llanychan (1581 - 1628), and John Richards at Llanynys (1579 - 1623) - the latter two of forty-seven and forty-four years, rivalling the long incumbencies noted in Caernarfonshire. Three incumbents of special distinction in this period were Hugh Bellot, later bishop (Llangynhafal 1587 - 91) and Richard Parry, later Bishop of St Asaph (Llanelidan 1584 - 86); these were the shortest incumbencies in the deanery in this period; the third was longer - John Williams, later dean, at Llanfair (1598 - 1613) and Llanfwrog (1602 - 13). John Williams has already been noted as sinecurist in St Asaph,⁷⁰ and with his many pluralities, it must be wondered how much his parishes saw of him. But fourteen of the seventeen incumbents in the deanery in this period were graduates (82.3%), with one possible student (John Richards at Llanynys, 1579), bringing the total proportion of university men to a creditable total of 88.2 per cent.

In Arwystli, Robert Prytherch continued his forty-year incumbency at Llandinam and Penstrowed (1567 - 1607) and David Lewis his scarcely shorter one at Llangurig (1582 - 1621). Francis Lloyd (d.1610) was probably appointed during this period. He and the other two appointees in this period were almost certainly university men.

Montgomeryshire seems to have suffered no shortage of incumbents, but as in that part of the county which lay in St Asaph, the passage of time saw more university men taking livings in the county.

Apart from Edmwnd Prys, Ardudwy had long incumbencies from Griffith Williams at Llanaber (1569 - 1628) - (fifty-nine years, a near record!) and Griffith Morgan at Towyn (1570 - 1606). The new incumbents kept up the high academic standards of the deanery, two-thirds of the twelve in this period being graduates (67%) and half the rest possible students. Even those with no university background included Robert Sherman (Trawsfynydd 1588 - 1603) who was a prebendary and a preacher.

In Anglesey, Llifon and Talybolion had John Hampton continuing at Llanbadrig (1582 - 1614) and William Meyrick at Llanfechell (1582 - 1605). The incumbents included the bishop, Henry Rowlands, who held Llanfachreth *in commendam* (1598 - 1606), three prebendaries of the cathedral, and Owen Wood (Llanbeulan 1594 - 1617) who became Dean of Armagh.⁷¹

Appointments took place in all seven parishes in Dynnedd and Twrcelyn. Rowland Bulkeley, noted at Llandegfan earlier in the reign, became Rector of Llanddyfnan, but only for a year (1592 - 93). He was succeeded in both parishes by another Bulkeley, Lancelot, who later became Archbishop of Dublin, probably the most distinguished of the Anglesey clergy at this time. Apart from Lancelot Bulkeley, only Richard Puleston among the new incumbents (Llaneugrad 1592 - 96) is known to have been a graduate, though five others in the deanery at this time were probable students.

Menai and Malltraeth had three incumbents continuing throughout this period. Henry Williams was at Aberffraw (1573 - 1604), Jasper Price at Llanidan (1580 - 1625 - forty-five years) and George Smith, Chancellor of St Asaph, etc. (Llangefni 1570 - 1608). The bishop, Henry Rowlands, took Trefdraeth *in commendam* 1601 - 06; the future bishop Edmund Griffith, was Rector of Newborough (1596 - 1610).

The percentage of graduates in Anglesey in this period rose to 60.6 per cent despite the slump in Dynnedd and Twrcelyn; addition of the possible students brings the figure up to 87.8 per cent. Dyffryn Clwyd and Cinmeirch therefore outstripped Anglesey in graduate clergy in the second half of the reign, but the total number of incumbents with a university background was almost equal in both.

1603 - 28

During the first part of the Stuart period (1603 - 28), Abererch was the only parish in Llŷn where no fresh appointment took place. As has been said in the previous section*; Richard Conwey (1582) may still have been ministering there, and if so, he was the only incumbent in the deanery at this time with no apparent university background. Otherwise, Abererch had possibly joined other parishes in the deanery, such as Llannor and Nefyn, which were served by curates - unless there was another cleric ministering there whose name has eluded the records. Two bishops appear among the incumbents; Edmund Griffith again features, this time as the Rector of Llanbedrog (1604); Lewis Bayly, who became bishop in 1616, held Llaniestyn *in commendam* in 1628. Thomas Powell served as both sinecure Rector and Vicar of Aberdaron 1627 - 34. Other parishes in the deanery had no more than two changes of incumbent in this period, but no fewer than five took place at Bodfean. It is difficult to know why certain parishes at certain times experienced such frequent changes; at least two of the five incumbents at Bodfean moved on to other parishes; two had come from elsewhere and may have been near to retirement; but terms of eight, four, three, six and seven years respectively were below average for the deanery at this time; the relative remoteness of the Llyn Peninsula may have been a factor.

In Uchor and Iscor, three incumbents continued throughout this period (at Llanddeiniolen, Llanfairisgaer, and Llandwrog) as noted above. Llanrug experienced three changes of incumbent. It was not a well-paid parish (£5. 12. 6d in the King's Book); William Lloyd moved on to the less well paid Llanberis, John Cadwaladr came (for only a year 1624 - 25) from the better paid Llanfairpwllgwyngyll, while Owen Owens combined it with Rhiw, some twenty-five miles distant. Owens was the only one of the three rectors of Llanrug in this period known to have been a graduate.

In Uchaf, Edwards Jones' long ministry at Dwygyfylchi has already been noted. Fresh appointments took place in the other three parishes. It seems that a disputed appointment took place at Llanllechid in 1616, probably arising from the change of bishop that year. Lord Chancellor St Albans (Francis Bacon) nominated William Benion,⁷² but it seems that the appointment went to Griffin (Griffith) Williams, later Dean of Bangor and Bishop of Ossory, who had connections among the
* supra, p.176.

Caernarfonshire gentry. All the incumbents serving in the deanery at this time were graduates, and all except Edward Jones of the degree of M.A. or above.

Isaf in this period at last had a better complement of graduates. Hugh Davies was the only exception; his date of appointment to Llangelynnin is uncertain, but he died there in 1617. Hugh Robinson, D.D. carried much of the burden of the deanery, holding Caerhun and Llanbedr-y-Cennin from 1613 and adding Trefriw in 1618, separated from the others by the chapelry of Dolgarrog. He held these parishes until his ejection by the Puritans in 1650, combining them with the archdeaconry of Gloucester.⁷³

Fresh appointments took place in all four parishes in Eifionydd, two at Llangybi and Penmorfa, three at Criccieth. This is an unusually high turn-over, but Eugene Gwyn (seven years) and William Jones (six - ending with his death) at Criccieth were in fact the shortest incumbencies in the deanery; by contrast, Evan Roberts at Llanystumdwy lasted forty-three years (1604 - 47).

Forty-two incumbents are noted in Caernarfonshire in this period, forty-three if Richard Conwey was still serving. Thirty-six were graduates (72.7% or 71.1% including Conwey), and the total of incumbents with a university background goes up to 86.3 per cent (84.4% including Conwey). The labours of Archbishop Whitgift to produce a learned clergy seem to have been bearing fruit in Caernarfonshire in the generation after his death.

In Dyffryn Clwyd and Cinmeirch, there were no fresh appointments in this period at Clocaenog, Derwen-yn-Iâl, Efenechtyd, or Llanelidan. These were not the only lengthy incumbencies in the deanery at this time. Among the newcomers, Robert Lloyd stayed twenty-three years (1619 - 42) at Llanfair and William Hill twenty-six (1624 - 50) at Llanrhaeadr-yng-Nghinmeirch. As in Queen Elizabeth's reign, a number of cathedral clergy appear among the incumbents - Bishop Bayly's son, John, held Llanfair (1618 - 19), Llanfwrog (1621 - 33) and Llanbedr (1622); William Hill was the bishop's son-in-law; John Roberts held Llangynhafal (1619) and Gabriel Parry (Llanychan 1628) - all prebendaries; Parry was also beneficed in St Asaph.⁷⁴ One of the more unusual incumbents was Robert Sparks, a Scotsman (Llanynys 1623), almost certainly related to Archibald Sparks, who has been noted among the St Asaph cathedral clergy.⁷⁵ The high intake of graduates among the clergy of the deanery

continued, the proportion rising to 85.7 per cent, and the total proportion of university men 95.2 per cent.

Arwystli deanery presents a complete contrast. From 1607, Llandinam and Penstrowed were no longer held by the same incumbent, and fresh appointments took place in all the parishes. Thomas Roberts, at Llanidloes 1614 - 21, then moved to Llangurig 1621 - 26, on paper, at least, a better-paid parish.⁷⁶ William Bayly, at Penstrowed from 1628 till his ejection by the Puritans, was probably a relative of Bishop Bayly, but nothing is known for sure about his background. But of those serving in the deanery in this period, only Morgan Rowland (Llanidloes 1621) and Alexander Griffith (Trefeglwys 1622) are known to have been graduates (27%) and Griffiths only took his M.A. in 1631. Possible students, however, bring the figure for university men up to 63.63 per cent.

In Ardudwy, John Meredith continued a ministry of forty-two years (1591 -1633) at Llanfrothen. All those serving in the deanery at this time had some university background, the graduates making up 68.75 per cent. Probably the most distinguished among the newcomers was Rowland Cheadle, D.D. who held Llanfihangel-y-Traethau from 1625 as well as various livings in Anglesey. According to the *Liber Institutorum*, he was appointed Dean of Bangor in 1625,⁷⁷ but this contradicts other evidence that Edmund Griffith remained dean until becoming bishop in 1634. Nor is there any evidence that Cheadle was treasurer, a post which sometimes went with Llanfihangel. With his possible exception, none of the clergy in the deanery were among the prebendaries of the cathedral after the death of Edmwnd Prys in 1623.

In Anglesey, the deanery of Llifon and Talybolion saw a high turn-over of clergy - each of the nine parishes had at least two changes, three took place in four parishes, and four at one (Llantrisant). The incumbents included some men of real distinction. Michael Roberts (Llanbadrig 1628) became Principal of Jesus College, Oxford, during the Interregnum; Edmund Griffith was Rector of Llanbeulan 1610 - 17; Bishop Bayly held Llanfaethlu (to 1619), Llanddeusant (1624 - 26) and Llanrhuddlad (to 1627) *in commendam*; John Bayly held Llantrisant (1620 - 22), Rowland Cheadle Llanfechell (1631 - 39) and Hugh Williams Llantrisant (1626 - 70 but ejected during the

Interregnum); all these were doctors of divinity. Whether they were actually resident in their parishes, or whether they paid curates to discharge their duties must remain a matter of speculation. A similarly high turn-over took place in Dynnedd and Twrcelyn, with twenty changes in the seven parishes, no fewer than six at Llanfairpwllgwyngyll. John Bayly appears as Rector of Llanddyfnan (1619 - 20) where he was succeeded by Rowland Cheadle (1620 - 22), who also appears at Llandegfan (1626). Robert Sherman appears again as Rector of Llansadwrn (1603 - 08). It can hardly have been good for parishes to have had such a rapid turn-over of incumbents, even if (as is likely) much of the work was done by curates, who may have been more permanent. Some of the blame for these conditions must lie with Bishop Bayly and his family, who seem to have played a form of musical chairs with the livings of the diocese; more so since most of the patronage in the diocese was in the bishop's hands. But that would not explain the turn-over at Llanfairpwllgwyngyll; William Martin (1628) was a sometime vicar choral, but none of the others could be considered to be among the higher clergy in any sense, nor did they move on to more prestigious parishes.

In Menai and Malltraeth, changes were fewer, though even here, the exception proves the rule. Five changes took place at Trefdraeth. Two of the five incumbents were William Hill (1621 - 24), succeeded by his father-in-law, Bishop Bayly (1624 - 26). Bayly was succeeded by the future dean, Griffin Williams, who in fact stayed fifteen years until his promotion to Ossory (1641). It has to be said that while the period saw some very short incumbencies in Anglesey, it also saw the beginning of some much longer ones. Rowland Cheadle remained at Llandegfan from 1626 until his ejection about twenty-four years later, and Hugh Williams' long tenure of Llantrisant has already been noted. Note should also be taken of Robert White - a gentleman of Anglesey, doctor of divinity and Archdeacon of Merioneth, who held Llangeinwen from 1605 and the adjacent parish of Newborough from 1610 until his ejection some forty years later.

One thing which is clear regarding Anglesey in this period is again the high academic qualifications of its clergy. Forty-five of those serving in this period were graduates (84.9%) which, with the inclusion of possible students rises to 96 per cent - the former

figure just below, the latter just above, those for Dyffryn Clwyd. Whatever Anglesey may or may not have lacked, it certainly had attractions for men of learning.

1628 - 1642

In considering the diocese of Bangor under Laud's supremacy, certain points of continuity at once stand out. A number of incumbents continued throughout from the earlier period. In Llŷn, this happened only at Mellteyrn and Rhiw. In the other six parishes, there was a steady turn-over, slightly distorted by very short incumbencies on the part of two of the cathedral clergy - John Griffith at Llanengan (1631 - 33) and Thomas Bayly at Llaniestyn, apparently for only a few months in 1631. The latter was another son of Bishop Bayly, also Rector of Llanwnnog in Arwystli (1629) and Llandyrnog (1631) in Dyffryn Clwyd, for which he probably exchanged Llaniestyn. Yet another son, Theodore (probably identical with Theophilus), appears as Rector of Llanllyfni and Llanelidan in 1631. Significantly, appointments of Baylys cease in 1631, the year of their father's death. Another family, the Robinsons, continue to feature prominently in Isaf deanery, with Hugh continuing in possession of his three parishes, and Henry (presumably a relative) taking over at Llangelynnin in 1634. Since the Robinsons first came to prominence as a family in Conwy, this was very much dominance of home territory.

In Uchor and Iscor, the former incumbent continued at Clynnog Fawr, Llanaelhaearn, Llanbeblig, Llanberis, and Llanrug - more than half the parishes in the deanery - and even among the four parishes of Uchaf there was continuity of service at Aber (John Thomas 1621 - 43). More remarkable, perhaps, was the triple change in this short period at Dwygyfylchi. Richard Salusbury remained only three years (1632 -35), after which nothing is known of him; David Roberts died after only four years in 1639. In Eifionydd, incumbents continued at Llanystumdwy and Penmorfa. The other two parishes were taken over by John Gething - Criccieth in 1638, and Llangybi, six miles away, in 1640.

In Caernarfonshire as a whole, the proportion of graduate clergy dropped in this period to 63.8 per cent while the total proportion of university men rose to 88.8 per cent. This phenomenon is repeated elsewhere in the diocese, and comment will be reserved until later.

In Dyffryn Clwyd, there was no new appointment at Llangwyfan or Llanrhaeadr, but with changes in the other eleven parishes, the element of continuity was less than in Caernarfonshire. Bishop William Roberts took Llandyrnog in 1638, and in the same year Robert Morgan, who was ultimately to succeed Roberts as bishop in 1666, took Efenechtyd. One very short incumbency in the deanery was that of Richard Lloyd at Llanychan (January 1633); he was succeeded in May by Robert Lloyd, probably a relative, and only twenty-four years old in 1633; Richard moved to Clocaenog. On the very eve of the Civil War, David Lloyd was appointed to Llanfair and Llangynhafal; he was ejected from Llanfair by the Puritans; he was also Warden of Ruthin. University men in the deanery totalled 96 per cent in this period, 81 per cent of them graduates, very creditable figures, slightly above those for 1603 - 28.

In Arwystli deanery, David Roberts continued throughout at Llandinam and William Bayly at Penstrowed. Owen Nicholas, by contrast, was at Llanidloes for only a month (November - December 1634).⁷⁸ No reason is known for his rapid departure; possibly illness was the cause. Even more remarkable are the five changes in this period at Llanwnnog. Incumbencies of one year, eighteen months, and two of about six months were at last followed by one of about seventeen years, that of Alexander Griffith, the controversialist and pamphleteer. Thomas Bayly, Robert Lloyd, Thomas Hughes, and Robert Morgan all moved on to other, better-paid parishes, though with the exception of Bayly, not immediately. There must be at least a suspicion that all was not well in the parish for a time. What is more remarkable still is that the proportion of university men went up in this period to 90.9 per cent and of graduates to 63.63 per cent - against the trend in the diocese and more in line with what was happening in the St Asaph part of the county. Perhaps it was easier to get university men to come than to stay.

Three of the nine parishes of Ardudwy had continuity of ministry throughout this period - Llandanwg, Llanenddwyn and Llanfair-juxta-Harlech. Towyn experienced

most changes, Robert Price lasting only two years (1634 - 36) and Richard Jones only one (1636 - 37). Both resigned, Jones for reasons unknown, Price probably to go to Ireland, where he took a doctorate at Trinity College, Dublin, in 1639, becoming Bishop of Ferns in 1661.⁷⁹ John Hughes, who took over Towyn in 1638, combined it with Llanaber, about twelve miles away. Ardudwy was served by exceptionally well qualified men in this period. John Hughes was possibly only a student, but the others (91.6%) were all graduates.

In Anglesey, a majority of incumbents continued throughout in Llifon and Talybolion and Menai and Malltraeth, and in three of the seven parishes in Dynnedd and Twrcelyn. In Llifon, the element of continuity was increased by Hugh Williams (noted above at Llantrisant) adding Llanrhuddlad in 1633. Richard Hughes, appointed to Llanddeusant in 1626, was the only incumbent appointed in the deanery in this period with no known university background. In Dynnedd and Twrcelyn, Michael Roberts, later Principal of Jesus College, Oxford, continuing at Llanbadrig, added Llaneugrad in 1631. Llanfairpwllgwyngyll at last had a settled ministry, William Lloyd, appointed in 1629, continuing until his ejection by the Puritans. Menai and Malltraeth had the greatest element of continuity in the diocese apart from Isaf. Two appointments took place at Heneglwys. William Langford served briefly in 1632 before moving back to St Asaph. William Stodart, who succeeded him, had formerly been Vicar of Aberdaron. Thomas Lloyd, appointed to Trefdraeth in 1641, was an LL.D. Langford was an M.A. and Stodart a Cambridge student. In Anglesey in this period, the proportion of graduates fell to 71.4 per cent, but the total of university men rose to 96.4 per cent - generally in line with the trend in Caernarfonshire and Dyffryn Clwyd.

W.P.Griffith has suggested a possible reason for the fall, though slight, in the number of graduates among the clergy in this period.⁸⁰ From a peak about 1599 - 1600, the proportion of Welsh students at the universities fell between 1600 and 1619 and again between 1630 and 1639, due to economic pressure. As has been seen, it was graduates who declined rather than men who had studied at the universities perhaps without graduating. But if the Welsh families, particularly landowners, were feeling the pressure at this time, it would be not unreasonable to postulate that young men may sometimes have begun their studies but lacked the funds to complete them. As has been seen, not all parts of the diocese were affected equally. In

Montgomeryshire, it seems to have been a case of a learned clergy gradually penetrating the rural areas. In the north, it was more a building up of a good level of learning which was more or less maintained. Perhaps the most satisfactory aspect of the Stuart period is the number of learned clergymen who followed the example of Edmwnd Prys in undertaking lengthy ministries, perhaps of forty years, in quiet and remote villages of the diocese.